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DEDICATION
OF THE
NEW YORK STATE MONUMENT
ON THE
BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM

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NEW YORK AT ANTIETAM

NEW YORK STATE MONUMENT, ANTIETAM

DEDICATION

OF THE

NEW YORK STATE MONUMENT

ON THE

BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM

AUTHORIZED BY CHAPTER 582
LAWS OF 1920

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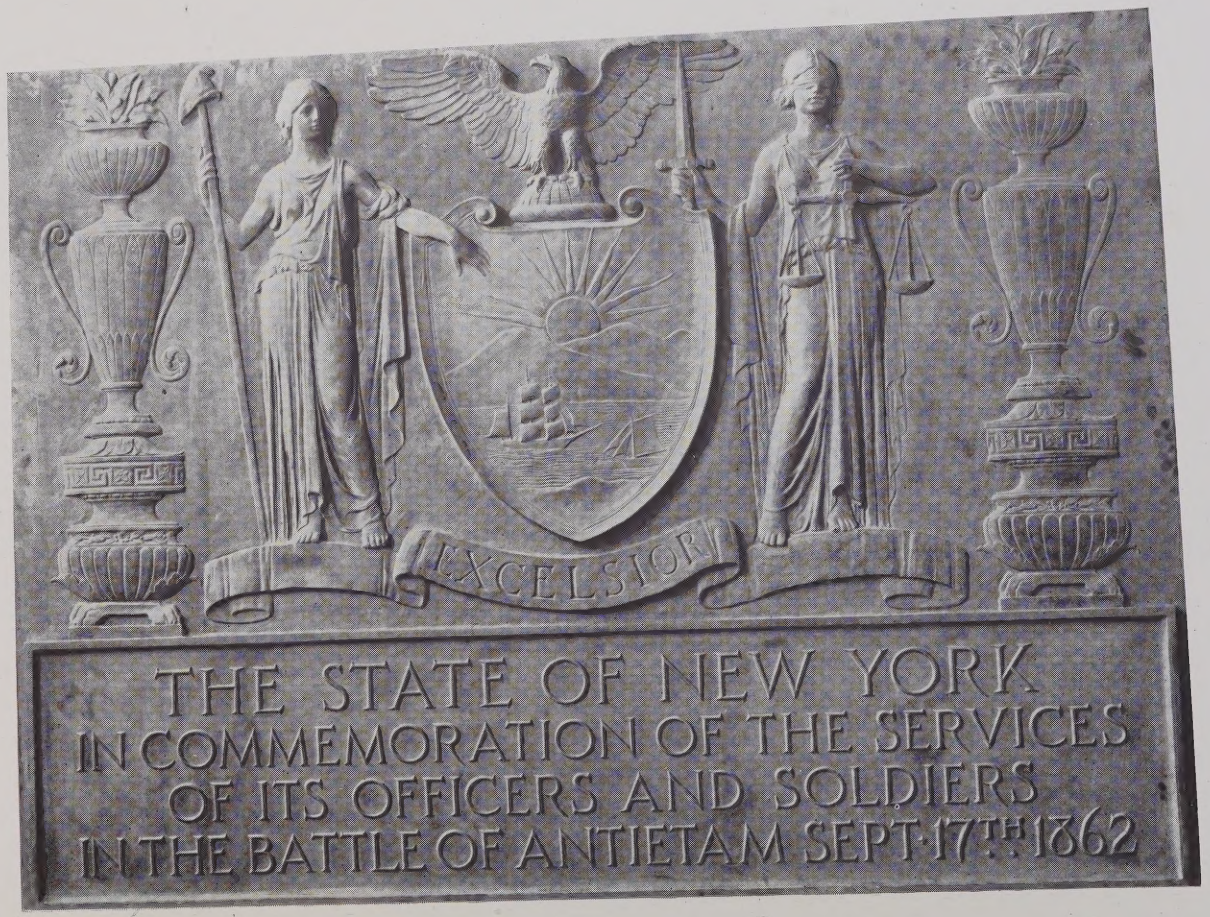
1923


EXCELSIOR
THE STATE OF NEW YORK
IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SERVICES
OF ITS OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS
IN THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM SEPT 17TH 1862

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NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION

FOR THE BATTLEFIELDS OF

GETTYSBURG, CHATTANOOGA AND ANTIETAM

25 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

November 27, 1922.

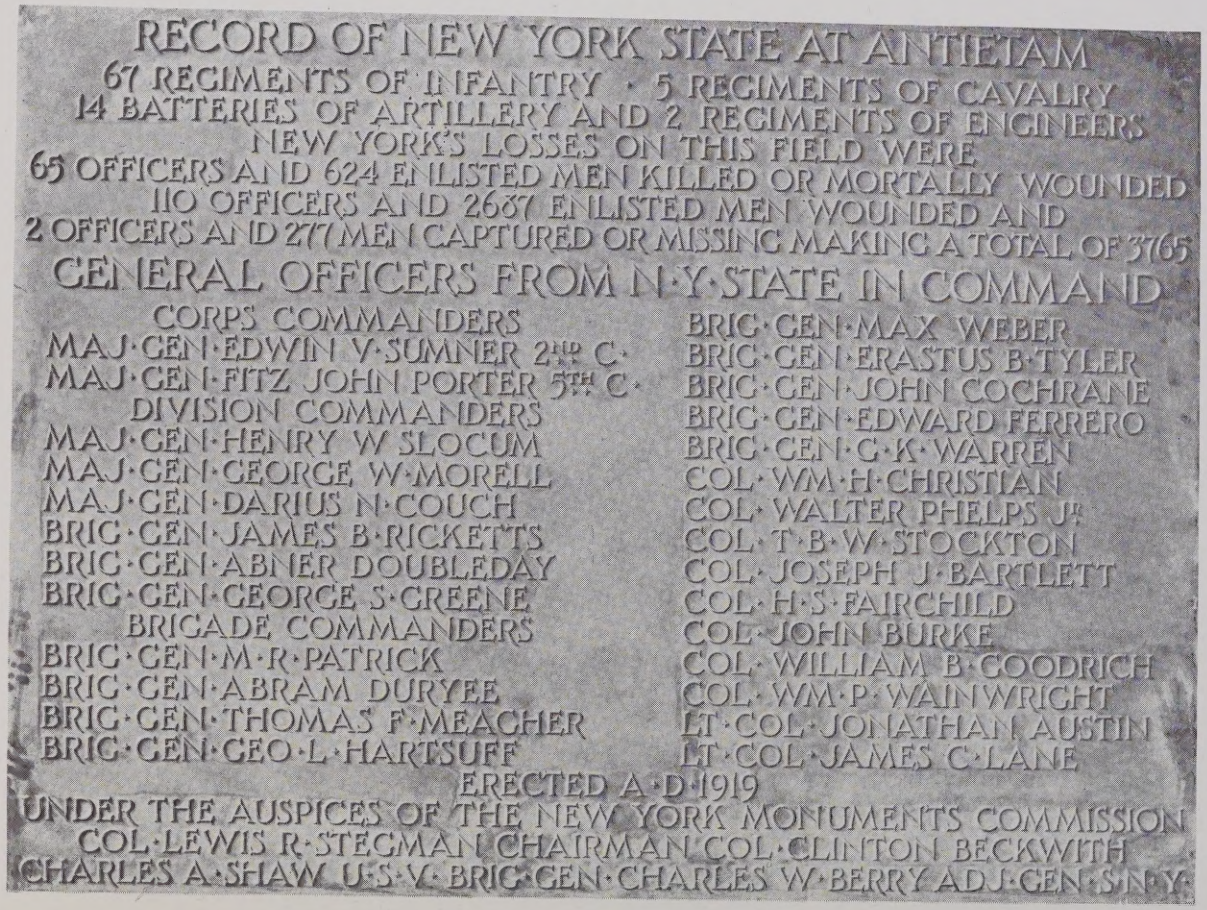
To the Governor and the Legislature:

I have the honor to transmit herewith the report on the New York State monument erected on the battlefield of Antietam, Maryland, together with proceedings of dedication thereof, supplemented with a sketch of the Maryland campaign.

Very respectfully,

LEWIS R. STEGMAN,

Chairman.



RECORD OF NEW YORK STATE AT ANTIETAM

67 REGIMENTS OF INFANTRY · 5 REGIMENTS OF CAVALRY
14 BATTERIES OF ARTILLERY AND 2 REGIMENTS OF ENGINEERS
NEW YORK'S LOSSES ON THIS FIELD WERE
65 OFFICERS AND 624 ENLISTED MEN KILLED OR MORTALLY WOUNDED
110 OFFICERS AND 2637 ENLISTED MEN WOUNDED AND
2 OFFICERS AND 277 MEN CAPTURED OR MISSING MAKING A TOTAL OF 3765

GENERAL OFFICERS FROM N·Y·STATE IN COMMAND

CORPS COMMANDERS
MAJ·GEN·EDWIN V·SUMNER 2ND C·
MAJ·GEN·FITZ JOHN PORTER 5TH C·

DIVISION COMMANDERS
MAJ·GEN·HENRY W SLOCUM
MAJ·GEN·GEORGE W·MORELL
MAJ·GEN·DARIUS N·COUCH
BRIG·GEN·JAMES B·RICKETTS
BRIG·GEN·ABNER DOUBLEDAY
BRIG·GEN·GEORGE S·GREENE

BRIGADE COMMANDERS
BRIG·GEN·M·R·PATRICK
BRIG·GEN·ABRAM DURYEE
BRIG·GEN·THOMAS F·MEAGHER
BRIG·GEN·GEO·L·HARTSUFF
BRIG·GEN·MAX WEBER
BRIG·GEN·ERASTUS B·TYLER
BRIG·GEN·JOHN COCHRANE
BRIG·GEN·EDWARD FERRERO
BRIG·GEN·G·K·WARREN
COL·WM·H·CHRISTIAN
COL·WALTER PHELPS JR
COL·T·B·W·STOCKTON
COL·JOSEPH J·BARTLETT
COL·H·S·FAIRCHILD
COL·JOHN BURKE
COL·WILLIAM B·GOODRICH
COL·WM·P·WAINWRIGHT
LT·COL·JONATHAN AUSTIN
LT·COL·JAMES C·LANE

ERECTED A·D·1919
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION
COL·LEWIS R·STEGMAN CHAIRMAN COL·CLINTON BECKWITH
CHARLES A·SHAW U·S·V· BRIG·GEN·CHARLES W·BERRY ADJ·GEN·S·N·Y·

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NEW YORK COMMANDS AT ANTIETAM

CAVALRY

1st CAV · MAJ · ALONZO W · ADAMS
2nd CAV · 4 COS · CAPT · JOHN E · TAYLOR
6th CAV · 2 COS · CAPT · HENRY W · LYON
6th CAV · CAPT · RILEY JOHNSON
6th CAV · 3 COS · COL · THOMAS C · DEVIN
8th CAV · COL · BENJAMIN F · DAVIS
ONEIDA CAV · CAPT · DANIEL P · MANN

ARTILLERY

1st REG · LIGHT ARTILLERY
BAT · B CAPT · RUFUS D · PETTIT
BAT · C CAPT · ALANSON T · BAILEY
BAT · G CAPT · JOHN D · FRANK
BAT · L CAPT · JOSEPH C · A · JEYLIOUS
BAT · M CAPT · GEO · W · COTHRAN
2nd REG · LIGHT ARTILLERY
BAT · L CAPT · JACOB ROEMER
1st BATTALION LIGHT ARTILLERY
BAT · A LT · BERNHARD WEYER
BAT · B LT · ALFRED VON KLEISER
BAT · C CAPT · ROBERT LAMONIER
BAT · D CAPT · CHAS · RUDEROW
1st REG'T LIGHT BATTERIES
1st CAPT · ANDREW COVALT
3rd CAPT · WILLIAM STUART
9th CAPT · ELIJAH D · TAFT
10th CAPT · JOHN T · BRUEN

ENGINEERS

15th REG · COL · JOHN McL · MURPHY
50th REG · LT · COL · WM · H · PETTES

INFANTRY REGIMENTS

4th LT · COL · JOHN D · MACGREGOR
7th CAPT · CLEVELAND WILLOW
7th CAPT · CHARLES BRESTEL
9th LT · COL · EDGAR A · KIMBALL
10th LT · COL · JOHN V · MARSHALL
12th CAPT · WILLIAM HUSON
13th COL · ELISHA G · MARSHALL
14th COL · JAMES McQUADE
16th LT · COL · J · SEAVER
17th LT · COL · NELSON B · BATEMAN
18th LT · COL · GEORGE H · AYERS
20th COL · EDWARD VON · VEGESACK
21st COL · WILLIAM F · ROGERS
22nd LT · COL · JOHN McKIE, JR
23rd COL · HENRY C · HOFFMAN
24th CAPT · JOHN D · O'BRIAN
" LT · JOHN T · RATIGAN
27th COL · CHARLES A · JOHNSON
28th LT · COL · R · H · RICHARDSON
29th LT · COL · ALEX · D · ADAMS
28th CAPT · WM · H · H · MAPES
30th COL · WM · M · FARLING
31st LT · COL · FRANCIS E · PIERCE
32nd COL · RODERICK MATHESON
" MAJ · GEORGE F · LEMON
33rd LT · COL · JOSEPH W · CORNING
34th COL · JAMES A · SUTTER
35th COL · LEVITT E · LORD
36th COL · WM · H · BROWNE
42nd LT · COL · GEO · T · BOMFORD
" MAJ · JAMES E · MALLON
43rd MAJ · JOHN WILSON
44th MAJ · FREEMAN COLLIER
46th LT · COL · JOSEPH GERHARDT
49th LT · COL · WM · C · ALBERGER
" MAJ · GEORGE W · JOHNSON
51st COL · ROBERT B · POTTER
58th COL · PAUL FRANK
57th LT · COL · PHILIP J · PARISEN
" MAJ · ALFORD B · CHAPMAN
59th COL · WM · G · TIBBALL
60th LT · COL · CHAS · R · BRUNDAGE
62nd COL · DAVID J · LEVIT
65th COL · F · E · BARLOW
65th LT · COL · EGBERT A · MILES
69th COL · JOHN BURKE
" LT · COL · HENRY FOWLER
" MAJ · RICHARD C · BENTLEY
" CAPT · JOSEPH C · HILL
69th COL · ALEXANDER SHALER
65th LT · COL · JAMES H · BULL
" CAPT · JULIUS WEHLE
67th COL · JULIUS W · ADAMS
69th LT · COL · JAMES KELLY
" MAJ · JAMES CAVANAGH
70th COL · WM · R · WAINWRIGHT
" CAPT · JOHN T · W · YOUNG
71st CAPT · NATHAN BABCOCK
72nd LT · COL · JONATHAN AUSTIN
" CAPT · HENRY N · WADD
79th LT · COL · DAVID MORRISON
80th LT · COL · THEODORE B · GATES
82nd COL · HENRY W · HUDSON
83rd LT · COL · WM · ATTERBURY
84th MAJ · WM · H · DE BEVOISE
86th LT · COL · PATRICK KELLY
89th MAJ · EDWARD JARDINE
90th LT · COL · RALPH C · BUTLER
94th LT · COL · C · LITTLEFIELD
95th MAJ · EDWARD PYE
97th MAJ · CHARLES J · CURTIS
100th LT · COL · JAMES C · DANE
" CAPT · DANIEL M · EDGE
103rd MAJ · BENJAMIN PISCOED
104th MAJ · LEWIS COX
107th COL · HOWARD CARROLL
117th COL · D · B · VAN VALKENBURG
121st COL · OLIVER H · PALMER
123rd COL · RICHARD FAUCHER
132nd COL · SILAS TITUS

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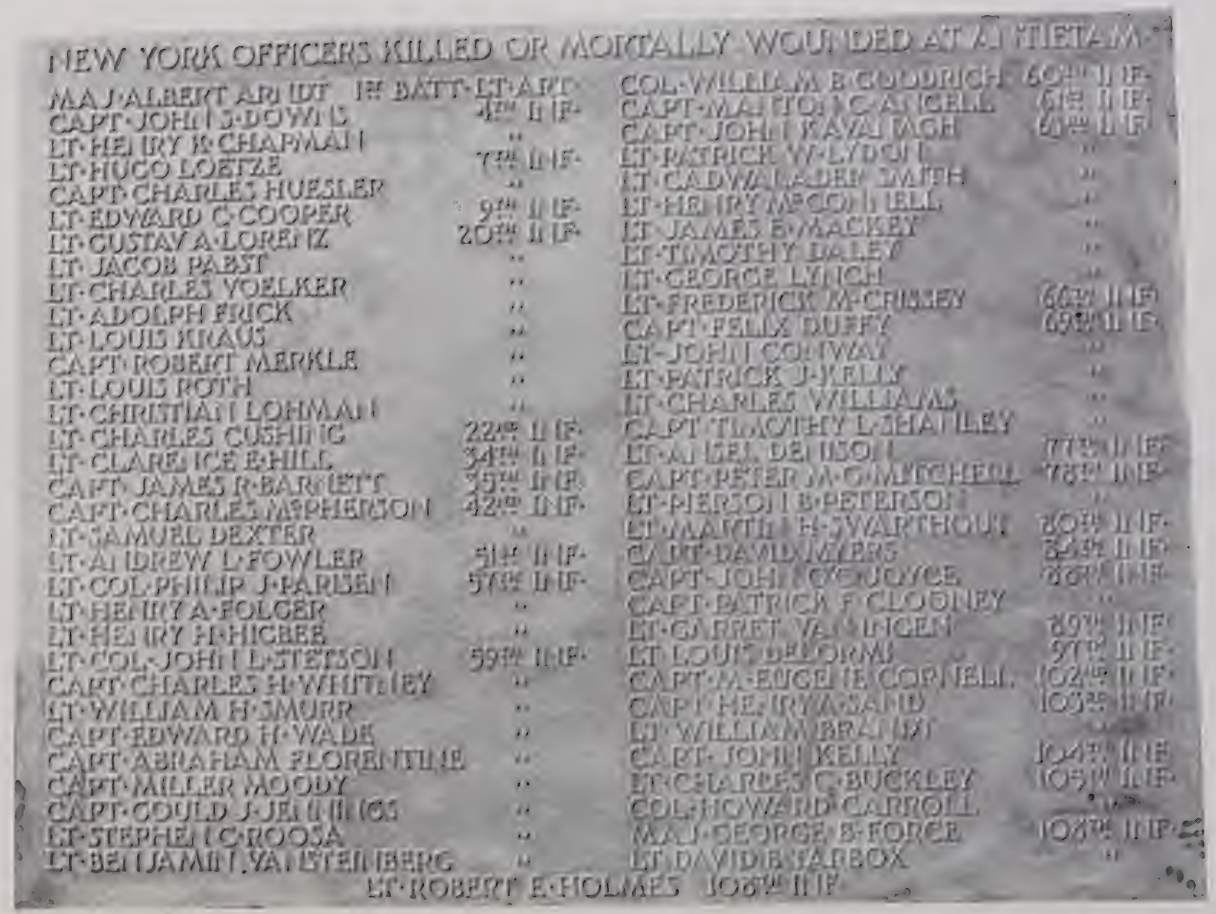


NEW YORK OFFICERS KILLED OR MORTALLY WOUNDED AT ANTIETAM

MAJ·ALBERT ARNDT 1st BATT·LT·ART·
CAPT·JOHN J·DOWNS 4th N·Y·
LT·HENRY K·CHAPMAN ..
LT·HUGO LOETZE 7th N·Y·
CAPT·CHARLES HUESLER ..
LT·EDWARD C·COOPER 9th N·Y·
LT·GUSTAVA·LORENZ 20th N·Y·
LT·JACOB PABST ..
LT·CHARLES VOELKER ..
LT·ADOLPH FRICK ..
LT·LOUIS KRAUS ..
CAPT·ROBERT MERKLE ..
LT·LOUIS ROTH ..
LT·CHRISTIAN LOHMAN ..
LT·CHARLES CUSHING 22nd N·Y·
LT·CLARENCE E·HILL 34th N·Y·
CAPT·JAMES R·BARTLETT 35th N·Y·
CAPT·CHARLES McPHERSON 42nd N·Y·
LT·SAMUEL DEXTER ..
LT·ANDREW L·FOWLER 51st N·Y·
LT·COL·PHILIP J·PARISEN 57th N·Y·
LT·HENRY A·FOLGER ..
LT·HENRY H·HIGBEE ..
LT·COL·JOHN L·STETSON 59th N·Y·
CAPT·CHARLES H·WHITELEY ..
LT·WILLIAM H·MURR ..
CAPT·EDWARD H·WADE ..
CAPT·ABRAHAM FLORENTINE ..
CAPT·MILLER MOODY ..
CAPT·GOULD J·JENKINS ..
LT·STEPHEN C·ROOSA ..
LT·BENJAMIN VANSTEINBERG ..
COL·WILLIAM B·GOODRICH 60th N·Y·
CAPT·MARTIN C·ANGELL 61st N·Y·
CAPT·JOHN KAVANAGH 63rd N·Y·
LT·PATRICK W·LYDON ..
LT·CADWALADER SMITH ..
LT·HENRY McCONNELL ..
LT·JAMES B·MACKEY ..
LT·TIMOTHY DALEY ..
LT·GEORGE LYNCH ..
LT·FREDERICK McCRISSEY 66th N·Y·
CAPT·FELIX DUFFY 69th N·Y·
LT·JOHN CONWAY ..
LT·PATRICK J·KELLY ..
LT·CHARLES WILLIAMS ..
CAPT·TIMOTHY L·SHANLEY ..
LT·ALFRED DENISON 77th N·Y·
CAPT·PETER A·C·MITCHELL 78th N·Y·
LT·PERSON B·PETERSON ..
LT·JAMES H·SWARTHOUT 80th N·Y·
CAPT·DAVID MYERS 84th N·Y·
CAPT·JOHN C·JOYCE 88th N·Y·
CAPT·PATRICK F·CLOONEY ..
LT·GARRET VANDEGEN 89th N·Y·
LT·LOUIS DELORME 97th N·Y·
CAPT·M·EUGENE CORNELL 102nd N·Y·
CAPT·HENRY A·SAND 103rd N·Y·
LT·WILLIAM BRANDT ..
CAPT·JOHN KELLY 104th N·Y·
LT·CHARLES C·BUCKLEY 105th N·Y·
COL·HOWARD CARROLL ..
MAJ·GEORGE B·FORCE 108th N·Y·
LT·DAVID BAILEY ..
LT·ROBERT E·HOLMES 108th N·Y·

NEW YORK AT ANTIETAM

THE erection by New York of a State monument at Antietam, though, for various reasons, a belated project, was first contemplated a great many years ago,— the preliminary steps for its construction having been taken as far back as 1906. On the 22d of May of that year the New York Monuments Commission, accompanied by members of the Legislature, made a survey of the field for the purpose of choosing an appropriate site for it. Thereupon, the Commission was authorized to obtain an option on a tract of land having suitable surroundings and convenient approaches for the structure proposed. The purchase money for this tract was appropriated under chapter 578 of the Laws of 1907, the cost being $1,402. The title thereto was placed in fee simple in the United States by deed of Rezin D. Fisher and Emma Fisher, his wife, dated May 4, 1908, and recorded in Liber G. B. O., No. 127, folio 487, Land Records of Washington County, State of Maryland; plat of tract being recorded in the same folio. The conveyance of the title to this plot of ground to the United States contains the following proviso: That the proposed State monument to the New York commands that took part in the battle of South Mountain, September 14, 1862, and Antietam, September 17, 1862, be placed on said land; that no other memorial or monument be erected thereon, unless by the written consent of the New York Monuments Commission, and with the approval of the Secretary of War, and that, subject to the last named condition, the said tract of land shall become and be a part of the Antietam Battlefield National Park.

This plot, now known as the New York Reservation, has an area of 7.01 acres. It has a frontage of 163 feet on the Hagerstown Turnpike, opposite the Dunker Church, with 50 feet on the Smoketown Road, and a width across the rear of 443 feet. Pursuant to authorization given under chapter 646, Laws of 1916, a fence was constructed around it, costing $4,497. This fence consists of cement-concrete posts, with three tiers of iron pipe railing, and cement-concrete walls and pillars for the frontage and the gates.

The New York State monument, for which appropriations amounting to $30,000 were allowed under chapter 151, Laws of

1918, and chapter 177, Laws of 1919, was erected in the Reservation in June, 1920. The entire cost of it was $29,022.06. The plans and specifications for it were prepared by Edward P. Casey, a New York architect. The contract for its construction and erection was awarded to The John Swenson Granite Company, of Concord, N. H., at the price of $26,450, including the cost of the four bronze inscription tablets. These tablets were cast by the Henry-Bonnard Bronze Company, of Mount Vernon, N. Y. The models for them, as well as that for the eagle, were furnished by Rizzi and Zarri, architectural sculptors of New York.

This monument takes the form of a shaft, of the Roman doric order, surmounted by an eagle, and supported on a pedestal occupying the centre of a platform, which measures thirty-six feet square. The platform has a low parapet, and it is approached by steps at the centres of the four sides. The entire structure rises to a height of fifty-eight feet. Including the eagle, it is constructed of fine-cut white Concord granite.

Standing on an eminence, and centred in what were the most hotly-contested arenas of battle, this memorial, the most majestic on the field, is entirely worthy of representing the Empire State at Antietam. The eagle that crowns it is of huge size and strenuous mould. The bronze tablets on the four sides of the die measure six feet five and a half inches by four feet ten inches.

A regimental monument, that to the Twentieth New York, was erected on the Reservation plot in 1911. There are also six other New York regimental monuments standing elsewhere on the field,—on the avenues and the public roads.

The government has constructed five and one-eighth miles of avenues along the battle lines; and in addition to these the field is traversed by seven miles of public roads; making all points of interest there conveniently accessible. The government has put up along these thoroughfares 127 Union and 68 Confederate tablets, showing the movements of the two contending armies, by corps, divisions and brigades. This work was begun in 1890 and completed in 1896, the entire cost of it being $73,000. The government has also put up tablets and markers at Turner's Gap, Crampton's Gap, Harper's Ferry and Shepherdstown Road.

The United States did not buy tracts of land at Antietam such as were acquired at Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Chickamauga, its purchases there being confined to strips on the battle lines for the construction of the avenues. On these avenues and the public high-

ways some sixty monuments have been erected. State monuments were erected there by Indiana, Ohio, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Vermont and Maryland. Pennsylvania has nineteen regimental monuments on the field, and Connecticut's five include one to the memory of General Mansfield.

A monument was erected to the Thirty-fourth New York Regiment at Confederate Avenue, near the Dunker Church, in 1902; to the Ninth between Harper's Ferry Road and Branch Lane, in 1895; to the Fifty-first at the Burnside Bridge, in 1905; to the Eighty-fourth at Cornfield Avenue, in 1916, and to the One Hundred and Fourth at Cornfield Avenue, in 1917. In 1920 a monument was erected near the Dunker Church by the late Francis Lynde Stetson, of New York, to the memory of his brother, Lieut.-Colonel John L. Stetson, of the Fifty-ninth New York Regiment, who was killed during General Sumner's advance against Stonewall Jackson beyond the Hagerstown Turnpike.

Memorials as well have been erected to two New York regiments, the Fourth and the Twentieth, in the National Cemetery at Sharpsburg.

It was not long after the battle when the Northern States began to accord public recognition to the sacrifices of their soldiers who took part in it. Proceedings were inaugurated by an act of the Maryland Legislature of 1864 for purchasing and enclosing a plot of ground, in the vicinity of Sharpsburg, as a final resting place for the remains of the soldiers who fell in the Maryland campaign. New York was specially designated in that act, because shortly after the engagement, through its agent, who had visited the field to attend and minister to the wants and necessities of the New York troops who had fought in it, an active and earnest sympathy was manifested in the purpose of the act,— an offer of co-operation being also tendered at that time for the furtherance of the project contemplated therein.

In due course, contributions amounting to $70,000 were voted for constructing the proposed national cemetery. Maryland's two appropriations totalled $15,000. New York appropriated $17,281 for it,— $10,000 under chapter 461, Laws of 1867, and $7,281 under chapter 138, Laws of 1871.

The work of removing the dead to this cemetery was begun in October, 1866, and completed in August, 1867. The ceremonies of dedicating the ground and of laying the corner stone for a monument there were held on September 17th the same year. Addresses

were made at those exercises by President Andrew Johnson, the Governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania and Governor Reuben E. Fenton, of New York. The cemetery was transferred to the United States in 1877. It is an elegantly laid out enclosure, of some ten acres. Upwards of $100,000 have been expended on it.

Civil War soldiers to the number of 4,734 have been interred in this cemetery; and these include soldiers who fell in Washington county elsewhere than at Antietam, as well as in the counties of Frederick and Allegheny. That total includes 867 New York soldiers. Of those buried there 1,865 remained unidentified.

The centre of the Sharpsburg cemetery is occupied by the statue of an American soldier. This monument, chiselled out of Westerly, R. I., granite, is the largest of its kind in the country. The figure alone is 22 feet high and weighs 29 tons. The entire structure rises to a height of 47 feet and weighs 250 tons. It cost $30,000, which were contributed by the Northern States whose soldiers fought at Antietam. The die of the monument bears the following inscription: "Not for Themselves but for Their Country, September 17, 1862."

Address of Governor Reuben E. Fenton at the Dedication of the National Cemetery at Sharpsburg, September 17, 1867.

Fellow Citizens: I dislike to detain you even one minute, but hesitate to leave this place without saying a few words. It is not easy to find words to fully and fitly express my feelings, or that may be most appropriately employed in the name of my State, whose eight hundred sons here sleep. There are times when human speech is too poor and weak to embody the emotions which the recollections of heroic deeds inspire. New York had almost 27,000 men on this field of strife, and about one-eighth of them were killed and wounded, but New York was not alone here, nor were the mutilated and dead alone from her ranks. Others came to-day, as I come, the representatives of States, united and living through the sacrifices of their fallen also — whom the nation alike mourns — and with fitting ceremony indicate the place where the devotion and valor inspired of our Christian civilization blazed in the red line around these hills, to go out no more while the page of history shall endure. The token of our gratitude which we propose to place over the dust which is henceforth sacred as the index that in fit eloquence of silence shall challenge the progress of mankind. The noblest thought of man, as to human rights; the utmost self-denial at the call of duty; the grandest

Courtesy of O. T. Reilly

NATIONAL CEMETERY, SHARPSBURG

example of national devotion of the strong to the weak, the characteristic of our great war here gaining firmer root, strengthened the trunk and extended the branches of the tree of freedom and peace, whose ripened fruit stands waiting for hands clear of all unfaithfulness and injustice. The oppressed of all lands, toiling and waiting for their harvest of freedom will evermore turn their faces toward our heroic struggle, and grow patient and strong. The statesman grappling the problems which impeded the progress of the people, baffled by selfishness, appalled by crime, or disheartened by indifference, looking to these heights above the clouds that surround him, shall see this pledge to liberty, and work on, and if it shall be at any time that wicked men seek to destroy or disturb human progress, reckoning on the ignorance which suffers, or the prejudice which bears the lowest and most friendless, will not they at least, pause before the upraised hand of our enfranchised people? True, we are not free from national trials; but, faithful still to liberty and justice, the result is not doubtful. And our lives also, as the lives of the men whose deeds we now celebrate, will be as sacred as they are, giving to the progress and happiness of mankind.

DEDICATION OF STATE MONUMENT

THE Legislature of 1920, under chapter 582 of the laws of that year, appropriated $17,500 for the dedication of the Antietam State monument. The dedicatory exercises were held on September 17, 1920, under the auspices of the New York Monuments Commission. The ceremonies of dedication were appropriate and impressive. Participating in them were two hundred and fifty veterans, consisting of delegations from nearly all the eighty-eight New York commands in the battle. Their venerable years — a large number of them having passed the four-score mark, while a few of them were ninety years old — together with the long interval that had elapsed since the battle was fought, exactly fifty-eight years, lent an air of solemnity to the occasion.

The veterans marched in line from the Dunker Church to the monument, which is nearby. The procession was led by Colonel Lewis R. Stegman, chairman of the Commission, with Thomas J. McConekey, Ninth New York Cavalry, who was assistant adjutant general for the occasion. General John A. Reynolds, was assigned to the post of grand marshal, with Captain William H. H. Mapes, Twenty-eighth New York Infantry, as chief of staff. Through the courtesy of the War Department, a battery of artillery and a troop of cavalry, from Fort Myer, Captain J. T. Cole, U. S. A., commanding, was present for escort duty and to fire the salutes customary at such functions. Music was furnished by a band from Rohrersville.

A large proportion of the veterans in that procession fought at Antietam. On their arrival at the monument, they were afforded an opportunity of observing the scenes of their exploits in the severest and most destructive one-day conflict of the Civil War. From that spot, which is on an eminence, a comprehensive view is had of nearly all the best-remembered arenas on the field.

The Dunker Church, on the west side of the Hagerstown Turnpike, which became a dividing line for the contending armies, was in front of the West Woods, whence Stonewall Jackson continued charging the right of the Union line, from the dawn of day until noon. It was at the West Woods also that General Sedgwick's Division of General Sumner's Corps marched unsuspectingly, in the morning, only to be driven back in short order, after suffering fear-

ful loss, by Jackson's brigades and their reinforcements. The ridge a little to the north of this wood, where General J. E. B. Stuart's artillery and horse batteries contributed so much to the day's casualties, was plainly in view. The East Woods and the Cornfield abutting it which skirted the Hagerstown Turnpike, lay less than half a mile away on the right. It was at those arenas that General Hooker opened the battle at the first blush of dawn as his brigades and batteries were confronted by Stonewall Jackson's. General Mansfield, who came to the rescue when Hooker was compelled to retire, was killed in the East Woods. Some of the regiments of General Greene's Division of Mansfield's Corps, after helping to regain possession of the Cornfield and the East Woods fought by the site of the monument in their advance to the Dunker Church and the West Woods from the Mumma House. This house was in the background. A little to the south of it was the Roulette farms, where practically was begun the skirmish that developed into the fierce struggle staged at the Bloody Lane, a third of a mile farther south. Beyond it in the same direction is the Piper House, where the fighting between the forces defending the middle of the lines resulted in Confederate defeat in spite of General D. H. Hill's desperate struggles against General Richardson. The tower near where General Richardson was mortally wounded was also clearly visible.

Sharpsburg itself, in a hollow, and the ridges between it and the Burnside Bridge, as well as the Antietam Creek and the Potomac, cannot be seen from the platform of the monument; but among the participants in its dedication there were many veterans who had good reason to remember the lay of the land and the course of the water in those directions.

South Mountain, with Boonsboro on its Western slope — one of the headquarters of General Lee during the campaign — was among the distant scenes on which heroes of the battle were able to gaze once more that day; and it was an ideal day in every respect for open-air celebration and sight-seeing among historic spots set in picturesque environment.

Three of the veterans held commands in the battle: Lieut.-General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A., of Washington, D. C., succeeded General Barlow, when, while leading the Sixty-first and Sixty-fourth New York regiments — forming one command — he was wounded at the Bloody Lane. General John A. Reynolds, of Fairport — one of the noble nonagenarians — had charge of Battery L, First New York Light Artillery, which fought with distinc-

tion at the Cornfield and the East Woods, where Stonewall Jackson and General Hooker contended violently and persistently for superiority. Captain Wm. H. H. Mapes, whose home is in Emporia, Kansas, commanded the Twenty-eighth New York Regiment. It belonged to one of the brigades of General Mansfield's Corps, which, after General Hooker retired, was engaged with Stonewall Jackson's men at the Cornfield and its no less renowned purlieus.

Colonel Lewis R. Stegman presided at the ceremonies of dedication. He is a survivor of the battle. His regiment, the One Hundred and Second, was posted in close proximity to the New York Reservation. The Reverend William T. Pray, of the same regiment, is another of its survivors. Mr. Pray it was who pronounced the invocation at the dedication. The Monument was unveiled by Miss Margaret Wheeler, of Cold Spring Harbor. Miss Wheeler is the daughter of a Civil War veteran.

Colonel Stegman in the course of his remarks as he introduced the various speakers reviewed the different phases of the greatest one-day contest, pointing out in the meantime the places where the fighting was fastest and most furious.

The dedication poem, "New York at Antietam," was recited by Mr. Joseph I. C. Clarke. It was an effort fully worthy of the event. The New York Sun styled it "A happy fusing of ideal vision with clear drawn pictures and the inevitable use of magic names — 'Fighting Joe' Hooker and 'Stonewall' Jackson and Burke and Barlow and Miles, whose living presence was part of yesterday's glory."

General Miles in the introduction of his oration expressed the pleasure it gave him and the honor he felt in having such an opportunity to address so inspiring a gathering of the heroes who had fought with him at Antietam. He made allusion to the genesis of the Civil War and outlined the herculean efforts put forth on both sides ere the issues raised by it were finally decided. Then he commented on the danger that threatened the North when General Lee and Stonewall Jackson led the Confederate army into Maryland, flushed with their victories during the second Manassas operations; and how the Army of the Potomac, under General McClellan, compelled them to return to Virginia disappointed and virtually defeated. General Miles also emphasized the triumphant part played in the battle by the division to which his own command belonged, General Richardson's, which wrested the Bloody Lane from General D. H. Hill, after a stubborn and costly resistance.

Major-General John F. O'Ryan, N. G., S. N. Y., who commanded the Twenty-seventh Division during the World War, and who represented for the occasion Governor Alfred E. Smith, in his oration compared and contrasted warfare at home, in the early sixties, with the cataclysm that had rent asunder foreign lands for another four years, half a century after. He was doubtful whether the veterans who wore the blue and the veterans who wore the gray would agree with their grandsons, returned from France or Belgium, when telling them offhand that after all they do not know what real fighting is. Modern methods and implements of war, he said, such as gas, bombs, airplanes, and the like made the battlefield much more difficult and dangerous than it used to be; but as of old, as for instance in the Civil War, it is discipline, combined with courage, morale and determination, more than anything else, that helps to win victories. And these fundamental soldierly qualities it was that enabled the American boys to overcome all opposition in their dash for the Rhine. General O'Ryan illustrated and enlivened his address with pointed anecdotes of incidents that came to his attention while leading his troops against the Hindenburg line.

In behalf of the people of Sharpsburg, his native town, Mr. Raleigh Sherman, of Washington, D. C., delivered a welcome address. State Senator Bernard Downing also addressed the veterans assembled.

ORDER OF EXERCISES

AT

NEW YORK STATE MONUMENT

BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM

SEPTEMBER 17, 1920, 10 A. M.

1. Music, Rohrersville Band.
2. Prayer, by Rev. Wm. T. Pray, 78–102d N. Y. Veteran Volunteers.
3. Introductory Remarks, by Chairman of Board of Commissioners, Col. Lewis R. Stegman.
4. Music, Rohrersville Band.
5. Unveiling of Monument.
6. General's Salute, United States Artillery.
7. Oration, Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A. (Retired).
8. Songs, by Herkimer Quartette.
9. Music, Rohrersville Band.
10. "New York at Antietam," by Joseph I. C. Clarke.
11. Oration, Major-General John F. O'Ryan, N. G., S. N. Y. (Commanding 27th Division, U. S. A., during World War).
12. Music, Rohrersville Band.
13. Songs, Herkimer Quartette.
14. Addresses by New York State Senators and Assemblymen.
15. Music, Rohrersville Band.
16. Songs, Herkimer Quartette.
17. Old Army Bugle Calls, by Robert Forfar, 5th New York Volunteers (Duryee Zouaves).
18. Music, Rohrersville Band, "Star-Spangled Banner."
19. Benediction, Rev. Luther D. Gable, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Commissioners
Col. CLINTON BECKWITH
Col. LEWIS R. STEGMAN
CHARLES A. SHAW, U. S. V.
Brig. Gen. CHARLES W. BERRY
The Adjutant General

Executive Committee
Col. CLINTON BECKWITH
Brig. Gen. CHARLES W. BERRY

Col. LEWIS R. STEGMAN
Chairman
J. W. LYNCH
Secretary

NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION

FOR THE BATTLEFIELDS OF

GETTYSBURG, CHATTANOOGA AND ANTIETAM

HALL OF RECORDS, CHAMBERS STREET, NEW YORK

June 2, 1920.

DEDICATION OF NEW YORK STATE MONUMENT, BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM

COMRADES:

By Chapter 582 of the Laws of New York, 1920, this Board of Commissioners is authorized and directed to dedicate, with appropriate ceremonies, the New York State monument which has just been erected on the battlefield of Antietam, Maryland.

The dedicatory exercises will be held on FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1920 — the fifty-eighth anniversary of the battle.

Provision has been made for the attendance at this dedication of a delegation of Civil War veterans from among the eighty-eight New York organizations engaged in the Maryland campaign.

The apportionment of representation for each of the eighty-eight New York organizations concerned is to be three. Where veteran associations of regiments or batteries exist, the delegations should preferably be designated by those associations.

The State, through the New York Monuments Commission, will provide each veteran so designated with transportation to Antietam and return, as well as maintenance and quarters during the time of the dedication.

Transportation orders made out by the undersigned will be forwarded in due course, direct to the veterans designated by their associations for taking part in this celebration.

The names and addresses of the veterans selected for each delegation should be sent to this office not later than MONDAY, AUGUST 2, 1920, in order that there may be ample time to transmit the orders to them, and also to notify the railroads of the stations for which transportation orders are to be issued.

The stations at which the orders are to be exchanged for tickets should be given in the applications for transportation.

Application has been made to the railroads, through the Trunk Line Association, to honor tickets for this occasion, from points in New York State, any day from September 10 to September 16, inclusive.

Badges, specially gotten up for this celebration, will be forwarded at the same time that the transportation orders are mailed.

When the transportation orders are being mailed, further information regarding this dedication will be sent with them.

Fraternally,

LEWIS R. STEGMAN,
Chairman.

HEADQUARTERS OF GRAND MARSHAL, ANTIETAM, MARYLAND

September 15, 1920.

Having been appointed by the New York Monuments Commission for the Battlefields of Gettysburg, Chattanooga and Antietam, Grand Marshal of the parade at Antietam on the occasion of the dedication of the New York State monument, September 17, 1920, I hereby assume command.

The following staff officers are announced:

Captain Wm. H. H. Mapes, 28th N. Y. V., Chief of Staff.

Thomas J. McConekey, 9th New York Cavalry, Assistant Adjutant General.

They will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

The following officers have been appointed on the staff of the Grand Marshal:

C. M. Woolsey, 2d New York Cavalry.

P. S. M. Munro, Battery L, 2d New York Light Artillery.

James Kerrigan, 15th New York Engineers.

Richard C. Orman, 50th New York Engineers.

Captain Ramon Cardona, 84th New York Volunteers, First Corps.

Colonel Zan L. Tidball, 59th New York Volunteers, Second Corps.

Robert Forfar, 5th New York Volunteers, Fifth Corps.

Major Fred C. Barger, 49th New York Volunteers, Sixth Corps.

Col. Andrew D. Baird, 79th New York Volunteers, Ninth Corps.

Major Charles T. Greene, 60th New York Volunteers, Twelfth Corps.

The hour for Assembly for the parade will be 9:30 A. M., at the Dunker Church, on the Smoketown Road, west of the Hagerstown Turnpike. Move at 9:45 A. M.

The following will be the order of formation for the parade:

Detail from United States Cavalry.

Detail from United States Artillery.

Grand Marshal and Staff.

Rohrersville Band.

Veterans of the New York organizations which participated in the battle taking position in the order, as nearly as possible, in which they entered the battle.

Cavalry; Artillery; Engineers; First Corps; Twelfth Corps; Second Corps; Fifth Corps; Sixth Corps; Ninth Corps.

Division flags of the various corps will be distributed at the Dunker Church.

Seats for the veterans have been especially reserved in front of the main stand.

The Grand Marshal specially requests the veterans to observe caution in taking seats. There is plenty of room.

Salutes will be fired by the United States Artillery.

The formation of the veterans for entrance to the Reservation will be under the charge and direction of the Assistant Adjutant General, Thomas J. McConekey (Junior Vice-Commander G. A. R., Department of New York).

After the ceremonies the veterans will return to Sharpsburg.

JOHN A. REYNOLDS,
Grand Marshal.

OFFICIAL:

THOMAS J. McCONEKEY,
Assistant Adjutant General.

INVOCATION BY THE REV. WILLIAM T. PRAY

102nd N. Y. VOLUNTEERS

Our Father who art in Heaven, Hallowed be Thy name and hallowed be this day.

We bow before Thee to give Thee praise and thanks for Thy guidance, protection and care during the past, which enables *us,* who are but a remnant of those who fought on this field fifty-eight years ago, to gather here and in Thy presence join hearts and hands to dedicate this monument to the memory of the brave men from our great Empire State, who, on that never-to-be forgotten seventeenth day of September, 1862, made the supreme sacrifice of life itself so that our Union should be preserved and our beloved flag the emblem of victory.

O, Lord, Thou who hast preserved our lives and made it possible for us to be here, accept our homage and crown the exercises of this day with Thy blessing.

Bless each one of us as we join in paying this tribute to our valiant dead, and bless all those whose love of country and of Thee and loyalty to their brothers in arms has resulted in giving *this day* to consecrate on *this field* a permanent and lasting expression of our love and gratitude for our former comrades.

Bless our great and glorious country, and guide its destiny so that it may prosper and be good in Thy sight, O God.

Hear and bless us for Thy name's sake.

Amen.

NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION, 1920

ADDRESS BY COLONEL LEWIS R. STEGMAN

102nd N. Y. VOLUNTEERS

CHAIRMAN, NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION

Comrades of the Old Army of the Potomac and Other Armies — Veterans That You Are — Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is a most impressive occasion and at this moment I shall confine myself to a few words, so as to introduce to you all Mr. Raleigh Sherman, of Washington, D. C., who, as a native of Sharpsburg, in behalf of its people, welcomes you to Antietam.

ADDRESS BY MR. RALEIGH SHERMAN OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the New York Monuments Commission, Veterans, Friends:

It is indeed a pleasing and peculiar privilege, on a day fraught with such memories, and in the midst of the very scene of those memories, to be able to extend to you, on behalf of this community and the State of Maryland, the warmest welcome of which the human heart is capable.

The sacred significance of your presence here to-day, the sadness engendered by your thin and thinning ranks, the all too familiar sound of " taps ", the soldier's good night to his comrades, the magnitude of your services on the occasion we have met to celebrate, all, all would combine to daunt a far more eloquent occasional speaker than myself.

In extenuation then, permit me to say that this greeting is offered by one who was born on this battlefield, immortalized by your deeds; that the earliest associations of childhood and youth were with the traditions of your gallant achievements, and that the recurring anniversaries of the battle of Antietam have always found him ready and anxious to join his fellow-townsmen in paying tribute to the veterans of the bloodiest one-day battle of the Civil War.

With the great humane President Lincoln, we can say to-day: " We have come to dedicate," not this time, " a portion of that field," but a stately monument, whose pure doric shaft, crowned by " the majestic monarch of the cloud," is a fit emblem of the patriotism of the sons of the great Empire State.

To the foot of that shaft Sharpsburg and the nation will send their children's children to pay reverence to the sacrifice which it symbolizes, and to draw inspiration from the heroism it commemorates. Such monuments are indeed an inspiration to the living and a glorification of the dead.

All will be reminded that the tender and universal appeal which the soldier makes is due not to the fact that he is one who goes forth to slay his fellow men, but resolutely to uphold a glorious cause, even at the price of that " last full measure of devotion " paid by the slain.

It has been said that " There is plenty of room for heroism in

the plainest kind of duty." If there is any one in this company whose humbler duties on that day when the fate of the Union trembled in the balance, kept him employed behind the lines of actual attack, to him, no less than to the most famous, a grateful country offers its benediction.

There is one among you who held a command on this battlefield, the Sixty-first and Sixty-fourth New York regiments, and who later was to shed his blood at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, in charge of the Sixty-first, and who gained high distinction in protecting the settler on the frontier from the encroachment of the Red Man. His presence here is a great gratification, and it is an especial pleasure to welcome Lieut.-General Nelson A. Miles.

To you, the Chairman of the New York Monuments Commission, Colonel Lewis R. Stegman, and your associates, we give the highest praise for what you have so well accomplished; and may I suggest that copies of your admirable report, which contains one of the best accounts of the battle of Antietam yet published, be forwarded to the State Historical Society of Maryland.

It is a source of keen disappointment that Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York and Governor Albert C. Ritchie of our own State could not be here to-day.

To you, veterans, the private soldiers, we owe everything that is best in this Republic. " Not for ourselves but for our country," will stand forever as sparkling diamond words on the private soldier monument in yonder national cemetery, where " glory guards with silent round " 867 of your fallen New York comrades.

This field will be recorded in history as the severest and bloodiest one day's fight of the Civil War, and as the place where the first monument to the two great contending forces, the Blue and the Gray, was erected by the State of Maryland to perpetuate "Peace on earth, good will toward men;" brotherly and fraternal love between a reunited people, and that this Union shall stand indissoluble and indestructible forever.

Now in the name of the village where you received your " baptism of blood and iron," in the name of your sister State, Maryland, whose soil holds sacred your honored dead, in the name of a reunited country to which your young valor gave " liberty and justice for all," I bid you welcome.

COLONEL STEGMAN:

After listening to Mr. Sherman's eloquent and beautiful address of welcome, so generous and hospitable, I know you will feel an additional enjoyment in these surroundings. We accept the welcome in the spirit in which it was given, and it will go on record as a valued contribution to these exercises.

A good many of the boys here, and some of the ladies, too, probably recognize the fact that it is my custom to speak extemporaneously; and although, perhaps, the words do not always come from the top of the head, at least they do come from the depths of the heart.

I am going to say a few words about the battle of Antietam, and when I get through I am not sure whether or not you will know more about the historic battlefield than you know now; but, at any rate, I propose to point out a few of the salient positions of this momentous engagement.

The plot on which the monument we are now engaged in dedicating stands west of the Mumma House and east of the Dunker Church. It borders on the Smoketown Road and is known as the New York Reservation. It was purchased by New York State, exclusively for memorials erected by the State. On the seventeenth of September, 1862, this pleasant pasture was the scene of bloody carnage, of charges and counter charges, of merciless musketry and deadly artillery. I was on this field that day, and passed from pretty nearly where we now stand into the West Woods, just by the Dunker Church. General Greene's Division of the Twelfth Corps, of which I was a member, remained there for a few hours, being compelled finally to fall back for want of ammunition and reinforcements, at a time when a preponderating force of the enemy was advancing vigorously against us.

Not very long ago, a resident of Hagerstown asked me what time it was when we arrived here, what time it was when we entered the West Woods and what time it was when we fell back to the East Woods, just to the rear, eastward. I learned from my conversation with him that he was badly misinformed as to the actual hours of not only this movement but of many other movements, and derived, too, from the official records.

I recall talking to General Miles this morning, while on our way from Hagerstown, about an official report of this battle which speaks of General Mansfield coming in, as a reinforcement, about ten or eleven A. M.; while, as a matter of fact, the Twelfth Corps

entered the battle as early as half past six in the morning. By eight o'clock we were beyond this ground and extended into the West Woods. There is a discrepancy here of more than three hours and a very vital three hours they were in this battle.

We did not have wrist watches in those days and the exact time of an occurrence was a guess generally.

I am not going to take up your time in discussing the problems of the battle, but to call your particular attention to some of the points of interest and importance around and about this historic neighborhood. The celebrated Cornfield, fought over for hours, is directly in your view, bordering on the Smoketown and Hagerstown roads and only about three hundred feet from where we are now gathered. The Cornfield proper contained about thirty acres. It looks very much the same to-day that it did in 1862. Over that Cornfield pressed the men of the First, Twelfth, Second and Sixth Corps at different hours of the morning, cutting a swath of death in the Confederate ranks and being frightfully cut up themselves. The Confederate dead lay along this front in windrows.

To the west of the Cornfield and the Hagerstown road is the Philadelphia Brigade monument and park. It marks the line of march of General Sedgwick's Division of the Second Corps and the location where disaster overtook that magnificent body of veterans when flanked by the Confederate divisions of McLaws and Walker. And on this ground, at the Dunker Church, came Franklin with the Sixth Corps, holding the lines until Lee retreated.

Just to the south of the Dunker Church, over by the Observation Tower, is the famous Bloody Lane, heaped with the Confederate dead on the day of the battle. The Confederate divisions of General D. H. Hill and General R. H. Anderson fought there against the divisions of General French and General Richardson, of the Second Corps, General Sumner's. No more bitter fighting took place on any part of the battle line than that of the Bloody Lane. Immediately after it was wrested from D. H. Hill, General Richardson was mortally wounded near the Observation Tower.

Further south, in your line of vision, is the National Cemetery; and still further in that direction, obscured by the heights, is the renowned Burnside Bridge, with its story of charges and capture and the terrific assaults of the Ninth Corps against the adjacent hills.

The battle of Antietam was one of the bloodiest in the Civil War. It was a momentous, large battle for its day and time, but not as large as battles are fought in these times. From the right of the line

to its extreme left was not more than three and a half miles. General O'Ryan, present with us and who led our boys on Flanders battlefields, can scarcely appreciate what it meant to this small body of boys to fight on this small field. The two contending forces counted about 48,000 muskets on each side. We had many regiments in the rear as guards to our wagon trains; and, unfortunately, many stragglers. The 87,000 that General McClellan speaks of were carried on the rolls, no doubt, but they were never on this battlefield for action. General Lee, the great Confederate commander, did not know how many men he had fighting for a certainty, having the same trouble with stragglers that the Federal commanders had. A fairly close estimate of the troops actually engaged is forty-eight thousand on each side.

Of the boys who made the magnificent charges on this battlefield, in the sunken road, or Bloody Lane, at the Burnside Bridge, the Cornfield and the Dunker Church, the great majority have crossed to the other side. Of those alive, the men of the muskets who emerged from the contest to chant a victory, many are here to-day, assisting to consecrate this hallowed ground forever.

Only three of the commanders are with us, and so far as we have been able to discover, but four of the officers who held commands belonging to New York State survive. Colonel William C. Alberger, wounded here, who lives in San Francisco, commanded the Forty-ninth Regiment; Captain Mapes, on this platform, has come all the way from Emporia, Kansas, to participate in this event. He was in charge of the Twenty-eighth New York Regiment. General John A. Reynolds, standing here with the rest of the boys, commanded Battery L, First New York Light Artillery. General Reynolds it was who, on orders from General Hooker, fired the first shot coming from the First Corps to open this never-to-be-forgotten battle of Antietam. And in regard to the fourth surviving officer, I may say that I allude to him last for the reason that I was afraid if I spoke of him first some of the glory due the others would be dimmed in the ardor of the tribute to his achievements.

Comrades, ladies and gentlemen, we have here with us one of the most glorious of American commanders; one of the finest soldiers of the old days the world has ever known; and one who upon this field, and upon many other fields, achieved feats of skill and valor that go down through the war record of the Army of the Potomac. Starting as a young fellow in the ranks, he went through various stages of promotion, until finally we see him a lieutenant-colonel in

the Sixty-first New York Infantry. On the various fields of battle he made a most distinguished name for himself. On this great field of Antietam, during the whole of that breathless, blistering, ominous day, through the nameless horror of the carnage, he fought a calm, a grim, an unyielding fight, and especially did he render valorous service on the line of the Second Corps front — on Richardson's left — at the Bloody Lane and Piper House. It was there that Colonel Barlow was severely wounded. He was succeeded by General Miles — Lieut.-Colonel Miles as he was then. A few years ago he told me himself that he had never missed an important engagement except Gettysburg, and he was not sure that you could call it missing that battle, as, although shot at Chancellorsville a few months before, he was at that time occupied in the drilling of a brigade of young boys ready for the front.

Then in the days succeeding the war, no name upon the historical records of our country bears a more magnificent impress of what we call "the settling of the West," between the Mississippi and the Pacific. A great Indian fighter and one of the greatest fighters the United States ever produced, and I say that without qualification of the next speaker, Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles.

LIEUT.-GEN. NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A. (RETIRED)

ORATION BY LIEUT.-GEN. NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.

Companions and Comrades of the Great Civil War, Patriots and Heroes of Many Years Ago:

It is with great pleasure that I greet you on this very interesting occasion. There is no company that I enjoy more than that of brave men; and I have the honor now of addressing an assembly of men who are not only brave but who were strenuously engaged, more than fifty years ago, in upholding a great and glorious cause.

During my life I have witnessed many important celebrations and large open-air gatherings, in different parts of the world, but none more significant than this event. Here, on a famed battlefield — studded with numerous monuments — in one of the most picturesque sections of Maryland, which offers every variety of delightful scenery — hills and valleys, heights and hollows, woods and fertile farm tracts, with their tranquil homesteads — all on a September day when sky and landscape are embellished with the most resplendent and richest tints,— here there are gathered some three hundred venerable veterans, coming from nearly every county in New York, and not a few from other states, joined by a large civilian representation from the Empire State, including many of its prominent citizens, together with a large concourse of local participants from Sharpsburg and Hagerstown and their vicinities, to help dedicate becomingly a noble memorial structure erected to its troops by the State which had the most men in the Army of the Potomac fighting on this ground fifty-eight years ago to-day.

This splendid monument of granite and bronze shall carry down through the ages a record of valor and sacrifice.

The cause of the great war can be traced back through centuries of time, a cause fraught with cruelty and injustice. Mercenary designs and unworthy motives for several generations had caused a serious dissension among our people. This produced a strong political division and animosity that threatened civil strife. National pride and interests, wise counsel, strong arguments and most earnest prayers were of no avail. Mad passion and hatred followed disagreement and the whole country became involved in open hostilities.

Then when our national existence was in danger, our flag dishonored and our government assailed, there arose a mighty sentiment and power of patriotism for the nation's defense. It was then that you, young patriots, offered your sacred honor and precious lives for

the preservation of this Republic and its blessed institutions. There never was a more glorious event than the uprising of the loyal sentiment of this country. Then it was that you young men gathered up all the bright hopes and prospects of life and placed them upon the altar of your country. "From the hills of the East, from the plains of the West, came Columbia's sons, her noblest and best." You stopped not to measure the dangers, nor the number of the enemy. You only asked to go where duty called. Such an army, volunteering in such a righteous cause, was never before assembled. More than one million young men enlisted at the age of eighteen and under, while more than two millions enlisted at twenty-two and under. These, the very flower of American manhood, left all the sacred ties of kindred and home to save their beloved country from dissolution and destruction.

I shall not weary you by describing how that splendid material was organized and mobilized into great effective armies. The experience gained in the Mexican and Indian wars were utilized to furnish many senior officers, and, as the war had been threatened for some years, great numbers of our young men had been trained to arms.

Powerful armies were organized and many battles fought, at first with disastrous results. Yet patriotic loyalty and fortitude prevailed in the end. That severe campaign in the Peninsula solidified and hardened the Union army, gave valuable experience to both officers and men, and thereby rendered it invincible. When Lee's army, with Stonewall Jackson, Longstreet and Stuart, invaded Maryland, confident of success, there was no adequate force between it and Washington and the great cities of the North except the Army of the Potomac, under McClellan, Sumner, Franklin, Burnside, Slocum, Sedgwick, Richardson, and other able commanders. As the two great armies approached each other in that beautiful picturesque country, every man in the Union Army realized the seriousness of the task before him; and we remember with what confidence and courage every patriot performed that task. They went into battle as to a festival, shouting for their country, with a prayer to their God and a cheer for their comrades, ready for any duty or sacrifice. Onward! forward! their only cry. They resisted every advance of the enemy; they met and hurled back, with disastrous results, every desperate charge. Finally, be it ever said to their glory, the men of the division to which my own command belonged, largely composed of New York troops, led by that able commander, General Richardson, who lost his life here, broke the enemy's line and captured what is known as

the famous Bloody Lane, or Sunken Road, with great numbers of prisoners, in addition to guns and colors.

Had their success been followed up, it might have been most disastrous to the Southern Army. As it was, the only escape for that army lay in a retreat back to Virginia. But the victory was not without serious losses in killed and wounded.

You remember the great rejoicing and universal gratitude of the government and the people of the nation when the news of your victory became known. You will also remember that President Lincoln came to the army, and what a joyous expression he wore on his careworn and wrinkled face. His prayer had been answered, and

Courtesy of the Century Co.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM

his sacred promise was soon to be fulfilled. He had promised his God that if victory came to the Union Army he would issue that immortal Proclamation of Emancipation, giving freedom to millions of slaves and their descendants for all time. This was done five days after your victory, thereby recognizing a great achievement and at the same time striking a fatal blow at the real cause of the war. That most generous and humane proclamation was called by an eminent foreign historian " the noblest political document known to history."

Proud indeed must you be, my comrades, to belong to that great State which furnished a major portion of the forces engaged in that

very important battle. At Antietam your State was represented by sixty-seven regiments of infantry, five regiments of cavalry, fourteen batteries of artillery and two regiments of engineers. All honor and glory to you, my heroes, and all honor to the patriotic citizens of the State of New York who have erected this magnificent monument which we to-day dedicate to the valor and sacrifice of her sons. Here it will remain for all time as a glorious tribute to the splendid fortitude and patriotism of those who kept our flag in the air, who maintained our nationality, and who preserved and advanced our civilization.

After this most important battle, the destructive war continued with serious campaigns and battles until the personnel and material resources of the opposing forces were exhausted. Finally, on the hills of Appomattox the Southern army was surrounded and it surrendered. Well do you remember that great event. It was glory enough for a single life. Every hat, knapsack and canteen was in the air. Veteran warriors of four years of hardship, dangers and suffering, shouting for victory and national peace. They realized that, by great fortitude and heroic deeds, they had at last a country without an enemy.

There was but one sentiment actuating that mighty host, and it was this:

> "Now thanks be to God for the dawning of peace,
> A respite from conflict and a sweet release,
> From the carnage of war and the horrors of strife,
> The shedding of blood and the wasting of life,
> And far be the day when we rally again
> For a harvest of death and a reaping of men;
> With no taunt for the vanquished, no sneers for the slain;
> 'Tis enough we were brothers, and are brothers again.
> And o'er our land one flag shall float,
> One song ascend from every throat,
> That flag the banner of the free,
> That song the song of liberty."

That was a victory achieved by the genius of war and a valiant army. In that final hour of glorious victory the sublime spirit of magnanimity prevailed. It was prompted by the presence of the immortal Lincoln in close communication at City Point, by the great hearted master of war, and by the highest and noblest impulses of his brave army. It was a wise, generous and lasting peace, inspiring confidence, not hatred, friendship and not animosity. The silent commander, Grant, looking from the black-mouthed cannon, and

blood-red fields of war, to a brighter future of universal loyalty, prosperity and happiness, resulting from the generosity, wisdom and magnanimity of that hour, achieved a double victory. How nobly it has been appreciated. Those who wore the blue and those who wore the gray turned their best effort to restoring the waste places, to rebuilding the ruined homes. They, side by side and shoulder to shoulder, turned their faces toward the mighty West. They reclaimed the wild prairies and mountain wastes, and developed the inexhaustible resources of fields and mines. They transformed those vast territories into prosperous and peaceful communities. Again, when foreign wars and the nation's honor called for warriors, the same response was manifested from every section and state — true patriots ready for every service and sacrifice.

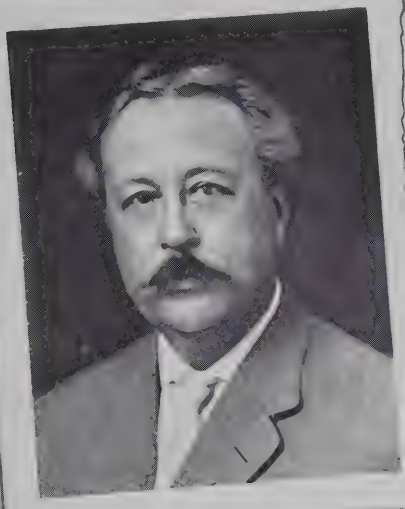
What now remains as the principal duty of the American citizen? It is to guard with sacred fidelity what our fathers vouchsafed to us, and what you and your comrades have cherished and defended. Treasure it as the priceless jewel of your life. Our fathers not only fought for and secured liberty, but they grasped the sceptre of power from an Imperial throne and placed it in the hands of every citizen. They gave to us all the duty of cherishing and preserving with sacred fidelity the government and institutions they established.

Since the creation there has never existed in this world a people who enjoyed more freedom, liberty of thought and action, security of life and property, or who were as well provided with all the requirements and comforts of life as the citizens of these United States. These bountiful blessings are derived from the government of which you are an individual part, and thereby a sovereign citizen.

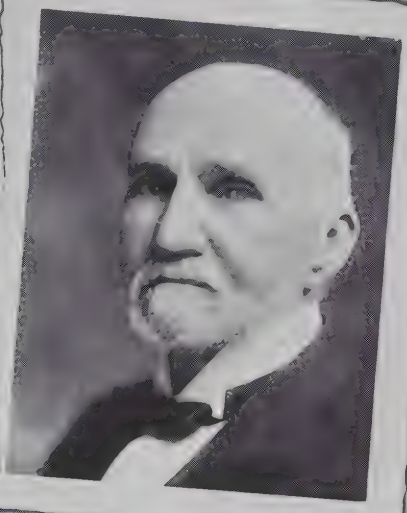
Many nations have gone into decay and oblivion by the indifference and apathy of their citizens; ours will be no exception unless our people maintain and preserve it with devoted loyalty. If the same sublime patriotism manifested by you on this battlefield and in your lives since is maintained and perpetuated by the citizens of this country, then our Republic will be forever safe and will ascend to even a higher and more exalted civilization and a purer destiny.

Colonel Stegman:

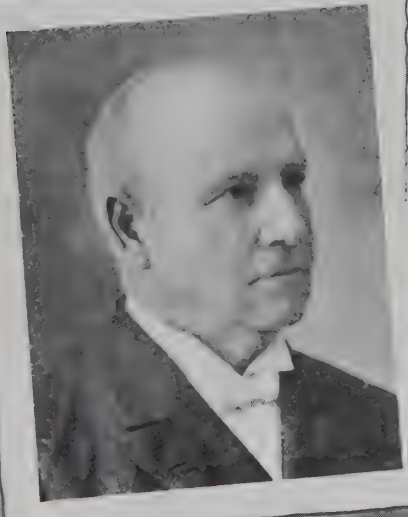
I now take great pleasure in introducing to you the poet of this occasion. To us old veterans he has endeared himself by his ever ready willingness to respond to our request for service; to give us the benefit of his bright genius. He loves the old veterans. He gives to you, today, "New York at Antietam". Here is our old poet friend, Joseph I. C. Clarke:



JOSEPH I. C. CLARKE



GEN. JOHN A. REYNOLDS



REV. W. T. PRAY

REV. LUTHER D. GABLE

NEW YORK AT ANTIETAM

By Joseph I. C. Clarke

Sacred this soil forever
Whereon in peace we tread,
For here in the arms of silence
Are sleeping our battle-dead —
Men of the South, men of the North
Awaiting the archangel's call
To sound and bid them forth.
And now doth America know them all,
Blue and gray as her sons,
Who fought as the nation worked its way
From passion's urge to reason's sway,
And fell before the guns
In youth's resplendent glow,
As here one red September morn
Nigh sixty years ago.

Once and again since that fell day,
In Union phalanx have we stood
With our Glory flag unfurled,
Brothers of brain and blood,
Brothers in arms to face the world.
Brothers, four millions we rose to strife,
Brothers, two millions sent overseas.
They hurled them at the foe,
And beat the tyrants to their knees,
Lifting in their stead democracies —
And only for right and justice,
Only 'gainst giant wrong
Do we bare the blade of slaughter
And pour our blood like water,
Or over bandit nations raise the rod.

No! never again shall our pact be broken
Of equal rights and of manhood whole,
By night or morn, in calm or storm,
America's great Sequoia tree our token,
Erect and heaven-upheld its towering form,
Its spreading branches shining green,
The nation knotted in its mighty bole,
With the sap of its hundred millions
Feeding its living soul.
So, buoyant and beautiful today our song
From the humble heart of the strong
Lifted in truth to God.

NEW YORK AT ANTIETAM

Gone like a dream is the old, dead hate
Dried up, thank God, at its springs,
And we come with full hearts to consecrate
In the realm of living things,
A noble stone for the men of our State,
And above it an eagle with outspread wings.
For under that eagle's wings outspread,
Among the rest New York came down
With twenty thousand men in line
From shop and mine,
From school and farm and town,
"God save the Union" their battle cry
As woodlands echoed to their tread,
Cannon and commissary rumbling by,
Old Glory at their head.

Oh sinewy column of New York men
Marching in fervor splendid,
A prayer, a blessing we breathe for ye
Where your bristling lines extended.
And we raise this high memorial stone
To sentinel the fame
Of all who make our Glory of today
And on thro' change of times and tides;
But most to those dear souls who fell,
And blended
Slowly with the Southern clay,
To be again in days of stress,
Our spirit guides,
And guide us well.

* * * * *

The Union sky was black with doom,
When fresh from triumph at Manassas
Rode Robert Lee to Maryland
Across the wide Potomac's passes.
Yea, he would pierce to Washington,
The sons of Maryland would rise to greet him.
Deeper and deeper grew the gloom
Until McClellan rode to meet him.
Then came the burst of sun that shone
In glory at Antietam.
The day of blood, fought breast to breast,
That shook the South and cheered the West,
The saving glory of Antietam.

Stonewall Jackson rode with Lee,
Longstreet and Hood rode close beside,
And forty thousand men in Southern gray
Came on in veteran pride.
Aye, it took eighty thousand men of ours
To force them back
O'er flaming miles in furious battle hours.
But our men in Union blue were there
For the attack,
Lined grim along Antietam Creek
When rose the Sun on that September morn
Above its ridges, farms and flowers
And fields of tasseled corn,
As they glimmer in the sun today.

Soon was the tawny yellow of that corn
Trampled and splashed with a holy red,
And the men 'twas fell in windrows,
As rifle fire and cannon smoke
Above them broke,
And North and South they bled
In bitter storm of iron
And shearing rain of lead,
The East Woods shaken
With the shrapnel blare,
The Cornfield fiercely taken and retaken
With the hot sun's climb
Upon the smothering air.

Jackson, the iron gospeller of might,
The Stonewall of the South,
Fed Northern cannon fodder
To his cannon's mouth
Around the Dunker House of Prayer,
Raising the homely, four-square fane of brick
Thro' battle grime
In that long morning to cathedral height
For all the chronicles of time.
Joe Hooker fought that fight for us,
While down below,
French and Richardson — fated to fall —
Made play to jam the Northern legions thro'
The Bloody Lane.
There, cheering and unafraid,
Went Meagher and his Irish Brigade,
Kelly with his Sixty-ninth,
Burke with his Engineers,
Leaving six hundred fallen on the sod,
And after them there trod

NEW YORK AT ANTIETAM

Of regiments a score that onward pressed
As fast as men fell till they smashed
A way at last and face to face,
As Miles who's here today
Took fallen Barlow's place,
When Caldwell's New York regiments
Drove madly through.

And further down
Backed by stout batteries upon the ridge
Regiment after regiment
Was baffled at the Burnside Bridge,
Until New York and Pennsylvania boys
Of bold Ferrero swept Bob Toombs'
Tough Georgia men away
In struggle as thro' battlements of hell.
And so the sun set on our bloodiest day,
Leaving two armies shivered by the fray,
For under its shadows twenty thousand fell.

Some say the monster fight was drawn,
But Lee and Jackson knew ere night had gone,
And knew it sore and suffering at dawn,
Thrown back, and clinging parlous to the sod
They stood upon,
That not for all their might could they prevail.
They signed it with their souls,
Whatever lips might say,
When they recrossed Potomac
And stole sullenly away.
And oh, McClellan and his valiant men,
Digging two thousand Union graves,
Nursing ten thousand wounded braves,
Knew that the Union would not fail,
And Lincoln five days after
Signing free the slaves,
Felt as he wrote God's finger on the pen,
When to his wearied eyes the vision came
Of the Union whole again,
Its freedom safe, and its altar-flame
The light of all living men.

COLONEL STEGMAN:

I am about to introduce to you a new comrade, not of the Civil War but of a recent great war. A few short years ago he was a private in a little field battery in New York, and then by a gradual promotion won his way to a captaincy of the battery. I recall this

very distinctly, because as a matter of fact I took a great personal interest in this young man. In due course, he came to be a major-general of the National Guard of New York, and remarkably well did he perform his duties. And then came that great rush of fury from the East — that terrific war which deluged Europe. One of the staunchest advocates of preparedness in those strenuous times was this same major-general of the National Guard of New York. He said that the National Guard of that State was as well prepared as any body of men in the world, and he was right. You will recall that many of the strongest divisions coming from the East, South and West, represented national guardsmen. When the Twenty-seventh Division was sent across the water it was placed under the command of Major-General John F. O'Ryan, and the excellent performance of the Twenty-seventh Division was not surpassed by that of any other division of American boys on the other side. The terrific Hindenburg line, which the enemy said could not be taken by any human force, was broken by the Twenty-seventh Division, under the command of Major-General John F. O'Ryan; and I now take great pleasure in introducing to you this gallant warrior.

MAJ.-GEN. JOHN F. O'RYAN, COMMANDER 27TH DIV. IN FRANCE

ADDRESS BY MAJOR-GEN. JOHN F. O'RYAN, N. G., S. N. Y.

COMMANDING TWENTY-SEVENTH DIVISION IN FLANDERS

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen and Comrades:

I am really here in a representative capacity to-day, representing His Excellency, the Governor of New York; and it is indeed to be regretted that he was unable to make arrangements for attending this event. Were it not for the fact that his duties do not permit of his being here to-day, you would have heard an address worthy of the occasion and a tribute worthy of the record and the achievements of the brave men who fought on this field. I regret that I have not the ability to represent him in that respect. I can, however, talk to you informally about soldiers, because I think that the soldiers of the Civil War and the soldiers of the World War are pretty much the same — Americans all.

In the first place, I want to congratulate the veterans on having served their country in a war that was civil. We did not have any such luck. Also, I have often thought since the armistice was signed how annoyed the old fighters of the Civil War must be at times, to have to listen to young grandsons, who took part in the operations abroad, telling the veteran he does not know what real fighting is. Of course, all soldiers are modest and so I know that you would be embarrassed and would admit your confusion in debate with the youngsters.

In relation to the new-fangled implements of war — gas, bombs, airplanes, and all such things, perhaps the younger generation feel that they have cause to regard themselves superior; but really, you know, those things count for very little in war, when all is said and done. The thing that counts in war, as you men very well know, is discipline: add to that courage, morale, determination, and the like. In other words, always the man, rather than the implements and material things of war.

We can well imagine an army equipped with all the modern paraphernalia and implements of war, but lacking in these fundamental qualities — the moral qualities that constitute the real attributes of the soldier — falling an easy prey to an army resolute in spirit and grim in determination, but possessing inferior arms. In other words, up-to-date equipment and armament constitute but

trophies to be captured by the enemy, unless they are in the possession of an army well disciplined and possessing skill, courage and confidence.

I am not going to take up your time nor attempt to bore you with any tiresome account of military operations abroad, but rather to touch upon a few instances that illustrate what I said a few moments ago,— that soldiers are soldiers the world over; and certainly your grandsons and grand nephews who fought in the late war are very much the same kind of boys that you were when you fought in the Civil War and upon this battlefield of Antietam.

Of course, we did have in our Division rather an exceptional experience, in that all our service abroad was with the British army. With us was the Thirtieth American Division. Our service was with the British army in Flanders, in the Ypres salient, with General Plummer, and with the Australians in the Hindenburg line, as part of Lord Rawlinson's IV British army.

All our boys were from New York, and the Thirtieth Division was composed of volunteers coming from the Carolinas and Tennessee. The Third Tennessee Infantry was one of the regiments in that division and was one of the organizations that fought all during the war on the Confederate side. It was an interesting thing to note that these two divisions were composed of boys whose grandfathers fought on opposite sides during the Civil War, whereas abroad they were then fighting side by side.

The British had an idea when they heard the Americans were coming to their aid that they were quite rough. Really, they had the idea that we were good fighters, but that we were quite dangerous and not very well disciplined, and even after they saw these two splendid divisions the notion for a time still persisted.

Several good stories are told about this illusion on the part of the staid Britishers. One of these relates to a party of five American soldiers who went to London on leave, after the armistice was signed. They got hold of some British whiskey and reached the point where they were feeling pretty good. Of course, this is a British story, as everyone here knows that the American soldiers do not drink. But, so the story goes, they were feeling pretty good and went into one of the most exclusive hotels in London, at the hour when the guests were arriving for dinner. They walked up to the centre of the room and one of them shouted for the head waiter. "Hey, garcon, come here, toot sweet! We want a table for five and plenty of champagne, get me, we're Americans, we are, see!" "Yes,

sir, yes, sir, to be sure, sir," said the waiter, " I shall warn all the other guests immediately, sir."

I do not know whether you veterans of the Civil War were interested or not in souvenirs during the time you were in the army, but certainly our boys in the other war while the battles were going on found time somehow to gather interesting collections of souvenirs. In the big attacks, as you know, the infantry went forward under an artillery barrage. They were followed by supporting groups, sometimes in one formation, sometimes in another, depending on the terrain, etc. Now, these supporting groups would go forward echeloned in waves — sometimes as many as seven or eight waves, one behind the other. As the barrage passed on, the enemy would enter his trenches from sheltered positions to deliver their fire against the troops following. A lively combat would result, and when a man was captured, bayoneted or wounded, the attacking line moved on and the survivors were waved to the rear. The men who took the prisoners continued on, while the prisoners passed through one wave after another, being relieved as they passed through of everything they possessed. You can imagine that they were pretty well plucked by the time they got back through the last wave and the M. P.'s gathered them in. They looked more like picked chickens than anything else. In the earlier engagements when the craze for souvenirs was at its height, some of the German prisoners were sent to the rear holding their breeches and coats, and that was all they had on.

On one occasion we had at our headquarters four or five German prisoners who had been brought back, in order that they might be questioned and possibly furnish some information. These prisoners were rushed back to the G-2 to be questioned by the interpreter after being well plucked on their trip to the rear. One of our men looked one of the prisoners over and said, " Hell, fellows, he don't look like a fighter, he looks more like a professor." I moved around to where I could see the prisoner and looked him over. He was plastered with mud; there was blood on his forehead and he was trying to hold his clothes together. He was a sorry looking spectacle to be sure, and his face certainly looked more like that of a college professor than a soldier. One of our soldiers demanded " Sprecken ze American? " Fritizie looked surprised and admitted that he did. "All right," the boy continued, " now you tell us what this war is all about,— what do you think these different countries are fighting about? " " Well," said the prisoner, who had been through these

eight waves, "I tell you. We Germans are fighting for the Fatherland; the Frenchman, he must fight for La Belle France; the Englishman, he must fight for his king; but you Americans — mein Gott — I think you must be fighting for souvenirs."

We had in our division a very rigid standard of discipline. For a time it was not understood by the newcomers who came into the division when the war broke out. But after they had been through a battle or two they thought better of the need for a high standard of discipline. But they would point out to their comrades that it was

GEN. MILES, COL. STEGMAN AND GEN. O'RYAN

strange that they were forced to do everything they didn't want to do and were not allowed to do anything they wanted to do. One of them said, "Look at these Australians; they are good fighters, but look at the trouble they make behind the lines." While it is true that the Australian soldiers were prone to be a bit lax behind the lines, I can tell you, as one who knows, that their battle manners were perfect; they were wonderful soldiers. So were the New Zealanders, who had the same customs.

On one occasion Field Marshal Haig got out of his automobile to make a small purchase in a local store in France, and in passing

down the street he had to pass a group of Australians. These men were leaning up against a building in an unsoldierly attitude, with cigarettes hanging out of the corner of their lips. The Marshal was very much annoyed when they paid absolutely no attention to him and he said to himself, "Probably they didn't see me." So he walked past them again. Same result. They continued to lean against the building and smoke their cigarettes and looked him over casually. This made him very angry and he approached the group and said, "I don't know whether you men know it or not, but I happen to be Field Marshal Haig. I want you to know that I have been a soldier for many years and in that time I have seen all the armies of the world and in all my experience I have never seen such an ill-mannered disorganized mob of undisciplined rowdies as you Australians. That's all." And he started to walk away. About this time one of the biggest of the men woke up and said, "Hey, General, wait a minute; you want to tell that to the New Zealanders; they will be as sore as hell."

When we were brigaded with the British army we naturally thought very often about the other American divisions and units down in the American area. We were always anxious to hear about them and what they were doing; but for a long time we could get nothing but rumors and more often stories of their doings.

In closing, I will tell you a story that came to us from the Fifteenth New York Infantry, and which you may know is a colored regiment. Arrangements had been made in one of the big attacks for this outfit to support a French battery. In this particular battery casualties had been so great that the battery commander came over to borrow a few men from this negro infantry. The captain of the first company said that he could not spare any men, but finally after a little parley he allotted the French battery commander one man, Private Johnson, telling him to go with the French officer and help out the battery. After the preliminary bombardment was over and there was a little lull, the captain remembered the incident and thought he would stroll over to the battery position to find out what Johnson was doing, and the following conversation was heard:

"Johnson, what are your duties over here?"

"Me, Cap'n, Ise de doah-man, that's what I is."

"Door-man? What do you mean by door-man?"

"Well, you see Cap'n, sah, it's like this. I'm de man what done open and shut the doah of this yere gun; den this little frog here done put in dat little ca'tridge."

"I see," said the captain, "well that's about as good a description of your duties as I ever heard. It's funny no one ever thought of that before. Then what do you do?"

"Well, sah, Cap'n, den I shuts de doah and you see that little frog over there? Well, he gives the word 'feu', dat's the French for fire; den dat other little frog he done pull the string and off she go — bang — den I done climbs up on dat gun axle and I looks over to dem German lines and I yells, Kaiser, count yo' men."

Colonel Stegman:

I now take great pleasure in introducing to you State Senator Downing, who will represent the Legislature.

ADDRESS BY STATE SENATOR BERNARD DOWNING.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In behalf of the Legislature of the State of New York, of which, in common with several other participants in this event, I have the honor to be a member, I gladly accept the invitation to contribute a few remarks to the dedicatory exercises that are now being brought to a close.

We in the Legislature appropriated most willingly the funds required for the erection of this monument and its dedication; and that we are highly satisfied with the use to which those expenditures have been put goes without saying. This superb structure, the finest, I am told, on the Antietam battlefield, is a credit to New York; while these imposing ceremonies for its dedication are nothing short of an inspiration.

It is indeed most gratifying to see this large gathering of venerable veterans assembled on such famed ground, and that, too, on the threshold, as I might say, of the celebrated Dunker Church. When we contemplate that a large proportion of these worthy heroes — heroes of time and heroes of conflicts — were fighting strenuously here and all around us exactly fifty-eight years ago to-day — three score years, all but two — that long interval and the deeds of valor and sacrifice which are being commemorated this hour, appeal to us irresistibly. They are alike subjects for admiration and gratitude.

Antietam was the first field where the efforts of General Lee's formidable army to effect conquest north of the Potomac were foiled. That they tried hard to accomplish their object and that the troops under General McClellan fought the invaders with determination, is attested by the fact that that battle is known as the most sanguinary one-day battle of the four years during which the Civil War raged, not excluding even Gettysburg.

One happy result of those four years of internecine strife — what is rarely recorded in the annals of the nations — is that for the vanquished, no less than the victors, the outcome of it was a boon and a blessing. This every true American is now ready to corroborate unqualifiedly.

STATE SENATOR BERNARD DOWNING AND THOS. J. McCONEKEY, A. A. G.

After Appomattox, all sections of the country entered on a new era, an era of reconciliation and reconstruction, making this nation the foremost and the most prosperous democracy in the world; and whether or not the rest of the world is yet safe for democracy, there is no question that the new world is perfectly safe for it. And America shall continue safe for democracy, all evil influences to the contrary.

Wall Street, the financial centre of the Empire City, just about the time when we were leaving it for Antietam yesterday, was, as you have doubtless heard, the scene of a dastardly and destructive explosion. What and where is the agency through whose machinations this horrid outrage was planned, and who are the miscreants by whom it was actually caused? If apprehended, and it is everybody's fervent wish that they will, those demons must be convinced, as sternly as the law provides for, that while anarchy and the murderous methods employed to foster it, such as were witnessed yesterday, may be now powerful, and to a certain extent fashionable, in a great part of devastated Europe, they will not be tolerated anywhere in these United States.

Our gates are still open, as they have been for more than a century, to the oppressed of foreign lands and those seeking better opportunities than they find at home; but we draw the line, and we are determined to draw something else, too, at the cowardly and murderous anarchist.

I take it that not a few of the veteran contingent whom we are now helping to dedicate becomingly this monument were not born under the Stars and Stripes; but all the same they are, and always have been since landing on our shores, as good Americans as the Americans themselves — the native citizen. That was determined and proven long ago — determined and proven the weary years when they fought and risked their lives, to the end that this Republic should not be disrupted.

There is plenty room yet in the United States, and a hundred thousand welcomes with it, for aliens of their calibre, but not a square foot of ground anywhere here for wretches of the type who made a whole city shudder twenty-four hours ago, and whose nefariousness makes the whole country say to-day, what next?

TRANSFER OF MONUMENT.

COLONEL STEGMAN:

Major Jacob Monath, Superintendent of the Battlefield of Antietam, as the representative of the United States government in charge of this battlefield, in behalf of the State of New York, through the New York Monuments Commission, I now transfer to the United States government this beautiful memorial, for its care and protection forever.

In reply to this Major Monath said: Colonel Stegman, in behalf of the United States government, I gladly accept the care and protection of this splendid memorial, erected by the State of New York to its valiant sons who participated in the great and memorable battle of Antietam. It is a wonderful tribute of your State to its dead and still living heroes. I can assure your Commission, representing the State, that the national government and its representatives here will devote every care and attention to the preservation and integrity of this beautiful shaft and its surroundings as long as our Republic shall endure.

CIVIL WAR VETERANS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW YORK STATE MONUMENT, ANTIETAM.

George S. Adams, Benjamin Austin, Samuel Avery, David Ault, Edward Anthony, Wm. H. Baker, Alvin L. Barber, W. H. Barns, Wm. E. Barton, Edward Beach, Johnson Beers, J. K. Benzino, Thomas Bettridge, S. Foster Black, Geo. H. Blackman, Henry F. Bloomfield, Samuel C. Bradley, Wm. S. Brazier, Robert C. Breese, Silas Brink, Lawrence Buckley, Henry Bufton, Frank Burgess, H. W. Burlingame, Uberto A. Burnham, George Bishop, Wm. E. Bowen, Henry W. Cadwell, Frank D. Carter, Edward C. Chase, Geo. H. Casler, Geo. W. Chamberlain, Daniel Chase, Junius L. Clark, Peter S. Clark, John F. Cleary, James H. Cleveland, John H. Cochrane, Daniel H. Cole, George W. Collier, Richard S. Conger, Isaac E. Conklin, Charles W. Cook, Leonard Cooper, James H. Corey, T. J. Creedon, John F. Cronin, Ramon Cardona, Edward A. Dubey, Jerome P. Dowd, Charles H. Dowers, John W. Durham, Wm. L. Drain, Lorenzo Ecker, James Elliott, Joseph Elvery, Alfred Elwood, Clark Ely, John J. Fagan, Thomas Ferris, Eugene E. Ferry, Lucius L. Flower, James H. Floyd, T. M. Fowler, Henry C. Freeman, Wm. H. French, Frank P. Frost, Charles Fleet, F. P. Galagher, John S. Gallt, Owen O. Gardner, Adolph Goldfisch, Thomas Gordon, A. M. Graham, F. B. Gregory, Ira J. Griffin, Richard H. Griffin, G. E. Grossmyer, James Grove, John L. Halpin, Geo. W. Hamilton, Alfred R. Hammond, James A. Hard, R. S. Harnden, Thomas Harrison, Frank N. Hart, Gustavus Hart, Horace Hart, Oscar E. Hayden, John S. Hayes, Otis B. Hays, Henry C. Henze, Geo. W. Hobart, Chas. E. Houghtaling, Rosen House, George M. Hoyt, Geo. A. Hussey, John L. Hall, Wm. Jones, Wm. H. Jones, John Jelly, Elon E. Kelsey, Edward Kendall, John Kenny, James Kerrigan, Byron C. Ketchum, O. S. Kimball, Wm. A. King, Augustus Kipp, Thomas A. Knight, Fred A. Lamb, Nathaniel H. Lane, Rev. Daniel P. Lappeus, Wm. Lay, Geo. M. Lemon, S. S. LeVan, Wm. T. Lewis, C. E. Lockwood, W. H. Lonergan, Wm. Macrea, Captain Wm. H. H. Mapes, Geo. W. Markle, Michael Masterson, Fred. A. Matthews, Eli McCreery, John H. McGean, G. E. McKune, David McMunigle, Seth B.

DEDICATION PARTY AT THE NEW YORK STATE MONUMENT, ANTIETAM

Mereness, F. C. Mergenthaler, Jesse W. Mills, Julius Mintz, Lorenzo D. Morgan, John Mulligan, P. S. M. Munro, Fred. R. Meres, John Morrell, Charles D. Myers, Michael McCarthy, Enoch J. Nichols, John Nellis, Fletcher Odbert, Edward Oertle, Wm. L. D. O'Grady, James O'Hara, Daniel A. O'Mara, Miles O'Reilly, Richard C. Orman, Hiram Osborne, Byron Parsons, Wm. H. Patterson, Erwin C. Payne, David J. Peet, Peter H. Pierson, Wm. H. Pinckney, John S. Pitt, Samuel M. Pooley, John W. Peck, Reuben D. Quick, Edward Rate, R. H. Redmond, Charles F. Reilly, John H. Rein, Walter Riddell, Wm. Riley, Ziba Roberts, John S. Robertson, James E. Roe, Wm. P. Roome, James Ross, Carlos W. Rowe, R. R. Ryan, Wm. H. Ryder, Rudolph Rey, Edward Riker, John Schmidling, Geo. A. Scott, Samuel E. Scott, Peter Sheldon, Wm. H. Shelton, Loomis Sigler, Sumner A. Smith, Chas. Snedeker, Dr. Peter C. Soule, James H. Splaine, Alex. Staszewski, Sigmund Stettner, Chas. E. Stevens, John H. Stevens, Joseph W. Stevens, R. H. Stevens, Daniel Stryker, Wm. Stuart, James A. Suiter, John B. Swartz, Geo. W. Smith, Alfred Tanner, R. Terpening, Chas. Thomas, S. S. Thompson, Wm. S. Thompson, John Tuite, Thomas P. Tuite, Wm. H. Tabb, George H. Terry, Austin Tiel, Hiram Van Tassell, Lewis VanValkenburg, Albert C. Vaughan, John Vosburgh, Rev. Francis R. Wade, Philip M. Wales, James Walker, Thomas W. Wark, Caius A. Weaver, Edward B. Weiant, Lyman B. Welton, C. J. Westcott, Samuel M. Whitbeck, Orrin R. Whitney, Henry Williams, Wm. Willingham, John J. Winn, James E. Woodley, Samuel J. Woodward, C. Meech Woolsey, H. J. Whiting.

OFFICIAL DEDICATION PARTY.

Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A., Major-General John F. O'Ryan and Mrs. O'Ryan, General John A. Reynolds, General James S. Graham, General Oliver C. Bosbyshell, Colonel E. B. Cope, Colonel S. C. Pierce, Colonel Andrew D. Baird, Colonel Frank P. Sellers, Major Fred C. Barger, Major Charles T. Greene, U. S. A., Captain Robert Armour, Captain George B. Gibbons, Captain George K. Collins.

Senator Bernard Downing, Senator George L. Thompson, Mrs. Thompson and R. E. Thompson; Assemblyman Charles D. Donohue and Mrs. Donohue, Assemblyman Peter J. Hamill and Miss Hamill, Assemblyman Warren I. Lee, Assemblyman Peter A. Leininger, Miss Dorothy Leininger and Mrs. Elsie Boeker, Assemblyman Bert Lord and Mrs. Lord, Assemblyman Morrell E. Tallett and Mrs. Tallett, Assemblyman Thomas A. McWhinney and Mrs. McWhinney.

John C. Birdseye, Secretary, State Civil Service Commission, Charles H. Dorn, Secretary to the State Comptroller, James B. Wood, Auditor, Finance Bureau, office of the State Comptroller, W. C. Smith, State Department of Education.

John Quincy Adams, Andrew R. Baird, George D. Bangs and Mrs. Bangs, Charles S. Barker, Miss Nellie Beckwith, Miss Mary E. Berry, D. H. Bonesteel, Rev. D. F. Brooks, E. C. Burgess and Mrs. Burgess, John R. Campbell, Hon. Jacob A. Cantor, Edward P. Casey, Lloyd P. Chittenden and Mrs. Chittenden, Henry E. Clarke, Joseph I. C. Clarke, Henry B. Cocheu and Mrs. Cocheu, Henry C. Draper, W. E. Eastman, Jesse L. Eddy, F. Albert Fichtel and Mrs. Fichtel, Dr. J. W. Fleming, Joseph Flood, Reverend Luther D. Gable and Mrs. Gable, Alfred J. Gilchrist and Mrs. Gilchrist, Frank Goedeke, Jr., and Mrs. Goedeke, William P. Griffith, Joseph Hepworth, Mrs. Martha Hichman, G. C. Ingersoll, Samuel Irvine, John W. Jacobus, Thomas H. Kiernan, Charles Lake, Wm. H. Lakeman and Mrs. Lakeman, Charles Lanigan, Arthur D. Lee, Mrs. A. A. LaMon, Dr. A. F. Lent and Mrs. Lent, Jacob A. Livingston and Mrs. Livingston, J. T. Lockwood, A. A. Lord and Mrs. Lord, J. W. Lynch, Thomas J. McConekey and Miss McConekey, C. E. McCreery, Mrs. Frank Martlock, John H. Miller and Mrs. Miller, E. J. Mitchell, Frank E. Munson and Mrs.

Munson, Mrs. A. B. Nickels, Martin O'Connor, Charles A. Orr and Mrs. Orr, James E. O'Toole and Mrs. O'Toole, Reverend William T. Pray and Mrs. Pray, J. E. Rafter, Eugene J. Reilly and Mrs. Reilly, John E. Smith and Mrs. Smith, Robert Smith, J. M. Southerton, Edward E. Stewart, Daniel F. Stroebel and Mrs. Stroebel, Charles D. Thomas, Colonel Zan L. Tidball, Jeremiah B. Turner, J. J. Tuttle, Alexander VanWagoner, Sr., Alexander VanWagoner, Jr., Hon. Fred. E. Weeks and Mrs. Weeks, Mrs. George M. Wiley, Miss Margaret Wheeler.

Colonel Lewis R. Stegman and Mrs. Stegman, Colonel Clinton Beckwith and Charles A. Shaw.

DEDICATION OF MEMORIAL TO THE FIFTY-NINTH NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS

The memorial recently erected to the Fifty-ninth New York Volunteers close to the Dunker Church was dedicated the same day as the State monument. This ceremony was conducted under the auspices of the regimental association, represented on the field on that occasion by Daniel A. O'Mara, secretary, Captain Zan L. Tidball and Nathaniel H. Lane.

The Fifty-ninth was commanded at Antietam by Colonel Wm. L. Tidball. It was one of the organizations of General Sumner's Second Corps, General Dana's Brigade and General Sedgwick's Division, which was repulsed by Stonewall Jackson's troops and their reinforcements at the West Woods. The inscription records that out of the three hundred and twenty-one men which the regiment took into that action two hundred and twenty-four were killed or wounded, a loss exceeded only a few times during the war. Among its officers who lost their lives there — nine in all — was Lieut-Colonel John L. Stetson. It was his brother, the late Francis Lynde Stetson, prominent in New York for a great many years, who, in 1919, erected this monument.

RECEPTION AT HAGERSTOWN

IT is sought in Hagerstown, with the co-operation of other places adjacent to the battle ground, to have each anniversary of the great engagement fittingly observed, following the fashion that has long since obtained in Gettysburg. In the matter of attracting thousands annually to its renowned arenas, Gettysburg is to the United States what Waterloo is, or at least used to be, to the continent of Europe. But Antietam also has picturesque scenery and picturesque environment — mountain ranges and the wide and winding Potomac — while, as a landmark of the Civil War, if it be not as well remembered as its northern neighbor, it shall, nevertheless, never be forgotten as long as history records the ardent dueling that was staged at the Cornfield, around the Dunker Church, the Bloody Lane and Burnside Bridge.

To inaugurate the proposed observance of anniversaries of the battle, and at the same time to tender a reception to the visiting celebrants from the State of New York, a meeting was held at Odd Fellows Hall, under the auspices of the Hagerstown Chamber of Commerce, on the evening of the dedication. The members of the reception committee were: Mr. Elmer N. Funkhouser, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and Mrs. Funkhouser, Mr. Simms Jamieson, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, Mayor John Ankeney and Mrs. Ankeney, Colonel Wm. P. Lane and Mrs. Lane, General Charles A. Little and Mrs. Little, Miss Elliott Shaw, Mr. E. W. Hepperle, Mr. John L. Wiebel, Mr. Joshua Thomas, Mr. Charles F. Barker and Mr. E. W. Gans.

This was an elaborately organized and largely attended function. The exercises therefor, conducted by Mr. E. W. Gans, were alike interesting and entertaining and fully reminiscent of the month of September 1862 at Hagerstown and its vicinities. The event was ushered in with excellent music and community singing. Then followed a succession of eloquent addresses, in which local talent was supplemented by contributions from a few of the guests. Major-General John F. O'Ryan, as he had done at the dedication, narrated some of his experiences and recollections of the World War; while, as participants therein, Lieut.-General Nelson A. Miles and Colonel Lewis R. Stegman made the battle of Antietam and the Maryland campaign the subject of their discourses.

ANTIETAM DEDICATION PARTY AT THE GENERAL WEBB STATUE, GETTYSURG

VISIT TO GETTYSBURG

On the morning of September 18th the Antietam dedication party left Hagerstown for the battlefield of Gettysburg, arriving at the latter place in time for luncheon. The afternoon was devoted to a visit over that renowned scene. All parts of the field were journeyed over and full descriptions given of the main incidents that occurred at the salient points of the contest, including Seminary Ridge, Barlow's Knoll, Culp's Hill, Cemetery Hill, the Angle, Little Round Top, the Devil's Den, the Loop, Peach Orchard, and the Confederate positions. Many of the party extended their trip to the cavalry battles on the south and east sides of the field. The dedication party left Gettysburg on September 19th, at 9 A. M., reaching New York City at 3 P. M.

MARYLAND CAMPAIGN

OF

1862

BATTLES OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN, ANTIETAM AND SHEPHERDSTOWN

FOREWORD

THE author of this plain and simple narrative of the Maryland Campaign of 1862, and the battle of Antietam, was a participant of the battle, a captain in the 102nd New York Volunteer Infantry, Stainrook's Brigade, Greene's Division, Mansfield's 12th Corps. On the day of the battle the 102nd New York was the extreme left regiment of the Corps, passing through the smoke of Mumma's burning house, part of the regiment entering the West Wood, near the Dunker Church and a part supporting Tompkin's Rhode Island Battery. Greene's division is credited in the official reports as having performed meritorious service. Frequent visits to the battlefield since the battle days has familiarized the writer with every portion of the ground, and particularly with the positions of the contestants, both Union and Confederate organizations.

The main objective of this narrative, based on the dedication of the New York State Monument on September 17, 1920, is to present every New York organization in its proper place during the action, especially by brigade and division. Beyond the addition of the New York regimental and battery commanders' names, an honor merited by them, there is no distinction drawn as to services rendered by any or all their brave and gallant colleagues. Every State represented did its duty and all are entitled to encomiums. The tedious detail of every movement of the battle has been eliminated, the main point of this story being to present a plain picture of the salient and most important features. The narrative of events, in sequence, is derived from the official records of the battle as written by the officers commanding the troops; by personal visits made to the field in connection with officers and soldiers of the various corps at their points of action; by the personal and careful explanations of the field given to the author by Gen. Ezra A. Carman, of the National Antietam Battlefield Commission, undoubtedly the greatest historian of the field, and the originator of the tablets and memorials now established on the scenes of conflict.

The author has no prejudices in favor of or against any commanders of organizations in the Army of the Potomac on the Maryland Campaign. General McClellan was recognized as a great organizer;

his faults lay in overcautiousness, proneness to overestimate the forces of his opponents, the Confederates. But Confederate commanders also overestimated the sizes of the Union armies. To reorganize an army of defeated men on the march, to renew their morale, to inspire a feeling of devotion and confidence to their cause, such as carried the Union troops over the top of South Mountain and through the bloody field of Antietam was an herculean task, splendidly performed, and one of the outstanding features of all military history.

The criticisms made on the vagaries of Henry W. Halleck, General in Chief, are founded solely upon his official record. Theoretically, on paper, in his study, he may have been an able military man; but his conclusions were more often erroneous than otherwise. The opinions of the great military commanders of the Civil War as to the capacity of Gen. Halleck are pregnant with truth. There we leave him.

CAPTAIN LEWIS R. STEGMAN
September 17, 1862

PROLOGUE

IN the midsummer of 1862, there was great depression in the North, due to the defeats of the Union armies East and West, and the failures of the campaigns. So much had been expected of the Army of the Potomac, under General George B. McClellan in the East, and General Don Carlos Buell in the West, that it made the disappointment as to results woefully keen and very discouraging.

President Lincoln called for 300,000 more troops and, despite the despondent feeling of the general public, the response to the President's call was an enlistment far beyond the number called for.

This response was very satisfactory and encouraging, but while these volunteers were gathering in camps in plenteous numbers, in a military sense they were useless for immediate service, requiring, as they did, drill in arms and the acquisition of discipline — absolute essentials for troops destined to meet an enemy. To the great credit of these men, who responded to the call of President Lincoln, be it said that when they finally joined the veterans already in the field, they displayed heroic valor and became as distinguished as the veterans who had preceded them on the battle fields of '61 and earlier '62.

While the North mourned over its discomfitures, the South was elated over its victories. It saw the North doomed to defeat and the full establishment of the Confederacy of Southern States. A few more triumphant marches and then, perchance, a treaty of peace, with two Republics instead of one. The lure was a large one, predicated upon great military successes and the Confederate Richmond Government moved accordingly.

The Union Army of the Potomac had been fighting forward and backward from April to August on the "Peninsula", as it became historically known, approaching Richmond from the direction of Fortress Monroe, westward, between the York and James Rivers, besieging Yorktown, fighting the battles of Williamsburg and Hanover Court House, crossing the Chickahominy River and reaching within seven or eight miles of the Confederate Capitol. Some of the advance skirmishers are asserted to have approached within four or five miles of the objective point. At all events, the Confederate Army

had been compelled to retreat to the fortifications of Richmond, when suddenly a succession of events occurred that completely changed the course of affairs. The battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines was fought within a few miles of Richmond and then came a lull; the Union Army lying on both sides of the Chickahominy River, surrounded by swamp lands and awaiting reinforcements.

The Confederates in the meantime had withdrawn General Jackson's Corps from the Valley of the Shenandoah, and, with this addition to their forces, commenced an offensive that led to numerous engagements, known as the "Seven Days Battles", including Mechanicsville, Frayser's Farm, Glendale, Beaver Dam, Old Cold Harbor, Ellersons, Savage Station, White Oak Swamp, Turkey Island bridge and many minor skirmishes, all culminating at Malvern Hill, where the Confederates were severely repulsed, and the main portion of their army retired to Richmond; while McClellan transferred the Union Army to Harrison's Landing, on the James River. There the Union Army remained until August, when it was ordered returned to Washington, from whence it had started in March splendidly organized and equipped. Its losses in killed, wounded and missing during the campaign were over 15,000. The Confederates were assumed to have lost 19,000. The army of General McClellan was somewhat over 100,000, while that of General Johnston and General Lee, his successor, was about 65,000 or 70,000.

The acrimonious disputes between General McClellan and the authorities at Washington during the Peninsula campaign led to many difficulties and dissensions, embroilments which probably led to his final removal after Antietam; but these troubles have been so largely and fully treated upon by those immediately interested, and historical writers of the period, that there is no need here to revert to them, beyond recalling the fact that when General McClellan appeared in Washington, in the latter days of August, he was under a cloud and without much authority, although with the responsibility of forwarding his various corps to the then front as rapidly as possible, to assist General Pope in his campaign then drawing to a close.

General McClellan states in his writings that General Halleck, then General in Chief of all the armies in the field and principal consulting military officer of the administration, had promised him the command of General Pope's troops in addition to the Army of the Potomac and Burnside's Corps, just arriving from the coast. He was not so appointed, but instead was directed to take charge of Washington and its defenses, and expressly, as he himself states,

" prohibited from exercising any control over the active troops under General Pope ", then fighting their last battles at Groveton and Chantilly. This was on September 1st, and events were moving rapidly, disaster after disaster following General Pope's troops. General McClellan suggested that General Halleck go out in person to view the situation and direct the forces, but this General Halleck declined to do, sending his Adjutant General, Col. Kelton, instead. Whatever report Col. Kelton may have brought back, whatever statements he may have made to the authorities in control, it led to most remarkable developments within twenty-four hours.

On the morning of September 2d, General McClellan states, and while he was at breakfast, he was called upon by President Lincoln and General Halleck, with the information that the army of Pope was entirely defeated, that it was falling back upon Washington in confusion, that there were 30,000 stragglers on the road, and the President felt so discouraged that he regarded Washington as lost. McClellan was asked whether he would accept command of all the forces. He accepted the position without hesitation, assuming all its responsibilities, assuring the President and General Halleck he would save the city. The President and General Halleck were dubious, as well they might have been under the circumstances. All the administrative officials in Washington had their trunks packed ready to ship to the north. It seemed like chaos.

General McClellan immediately proceeded to the front, as far as the limitations of his orders permitted, the fortifications of Washington being his boundary line. There he met the retreating troops of General Pope. An air of confidence ensued immediately upon General McClellan's appearance and his recognition. Order was restored among the discouraged troops; they were placed in various positions of defense and they were ready to repulse any attacks of the enemy. Washington was considered safe.

It was known in Washington that, owing to the disasters to the Union armies, and the victories of the Confederates, Great Britain and France were almost ready to recognize the independence of the Confederate States. From every point of view it looked disastrous.

After the verbal appeal of the President and General Halleck to General McClellan, to do his utmost to save the Capital, under restrictions, the only written order given him, was the following:

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Adjutant General's Office,
WASHINGTON, *September* 2, 1862.

Major General McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington and of all the troops for the defense of the Capital.

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Asst. Adj't General.

By order of
MAJOR GEN'L HALLECK.

Upon this order, General McClellan prepared to rearrange the troops such as were within the boundaries of his district, for the defense of the Capital, which, in its application under extreme circumstances, was broad and wide enough, leading to South Mountain and Antietam. As it seemed to McClellan that the Confederate forces, victorious as they had been, would make no direct attack upon Washington, but probably would cross the Potomac River and invade Maryland, he moved the 2d, 9th, and 12th Corps to the Maryland side of the Potomac for the western and northern protection of the city. This perfectly logical movement was resented by General Halleck as an assumption of power on McClellan's part, by the suggestion that he was not to interfere with the " prospective active army to take the field ", and that his command did not extend beyond the line of works or fortifications.

McClellan assumed large responsibilities and by the 7th of September, the 1st and 6th Corps, Sykes' Division of the 5th Corps and Couch's Division of the 4th Corps, were also on the north side of the Potomac. Three of the Corps named, the 1st, 9th and 12th Corps, had never served under McClellan before — the 1st and 12th Corps being part of Pope's forces and the 9th, Burnside's contingent, brought from the Atlantic coast. General Cox's Kanawha Division was added to the 9th Corps, having been brought from West Virginia to assist Pope. By the 8th of September there was a very competent army of soldiers for active service on the north side of the Potomac River and in the State of Maryland, but sadly needing organization and leadership. On the 8th of September McClellan left Washington on his own initiative for the Corps in the field. No other officer had been assigned to command this newly organized force. Practically it was ready to move, to fight under any regularly accredited officer. As none appeared, McClellan, on the 9th of September,

assumed command, as he personally says, " With a halter around my neck if I failed," dating his orders with the old prefix of " Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac ".

But what an army to lead, composed as it was of men who had fought many battles on Virginia soil, defeated, demoralized, or supposed to be, needing clothing, arms, munitions and supplies, and markedly, cohesion and organization.

It is now time to return, for a brief period, to the month of August, to the movements of General Pope and his forces, making up the "Army of Virginia." General Pope had been called from the West to assume this command, and, as he himself states, very much against his will. The Army of Virginia was composed of three Corps — 1st under Fremont, 2nd under Banks and 3rd under McDowell. All three of the commanders were seniors in rank to Pope, but, with the exception of Fremont, yielded ready obedience to Pope's authority. Fremont alone declined and was replaced by Sigel. It is estimated that the total number of men in the three Corps was about 50,000 with 25 field batteries and 150 guns. His first orders to the army he commanded were somewhat grandiloquent — " No base of supplies — no lines of retreat," meaning his troops would feed upon the enemy's country and that they would be ever victorious. To troops of the calibre of Pope's three corps, inured to the hardships of severe campaigns and all their vicissitudes, these orders appeared vainglorious. They showed a little disbelief in the ability of their commander, and the remarks passed down the lines of the men were not very complimentary. Yet no men ever fought more bravely than did these same men, even though the directing head was General John Pope.

The first regular engagement under Pope was the battle of Cedar Mountain, fought August 9, about eight miles below Culpeper Court House, and fought by Banks' Corps alone against Jackson's Confederate forces of fully double or treble the number of the Union troops. It was a reverse to the Union Corps which had contested the ground inch by inch. Jackson after holding possession of the field for a day or two finally retired, leaving Pope in control of all the territory north of Culpeper. Undoubtedly the army of General Pope and its manoeuvres had a great effect on General McClellan's adventures on the Peninsula, in preventing Confederate reinforcements to Lee's army during the months of June and July; although Stonewall Jackson did get to Lee finally, assisting in the " Seven Days Battle," after which he returned toward his old stamping ground, around the Blue Ridge Mountains, in early August.

McClellan had withdrawn the Army of the Potomac to Harrison's Landing when the bold conception of an invasion of the North presented itself to the Confederate Councils. It was known to the Confederate military leaders that McClellan would not leave Harrison's Landing without reinforcements, and no reinforcements were arriving. And possibly, from underground sources, Lee may have learned that McClellan was likely to be withdrawn from the Peninsula and turned toward Washington. Whatever his sources of information, Lee decided upon a bold manoeuvre. He would attack Pope and extinguish him before McClellan began to move. Consequently, Jackson's first expedition and the fight at Cedar Mountain. Next followed Longstreet, leaving only D. H. Hill's division to face McClellan. It was a propitious moment for Lee. McClellan with his command was not yet in movement and there was an opportunity to destroy Pope. Lee acted promptly and his movement was veiled by Stuart's Cavalry, forming a strong fringe to hide the infantry march.

It is unnecessary to go into a development of all the movements of Pope and Lee in the preliminaries of the campaign that followed, with its various combinations and misunderstandings of orders. Time had reached the 21st of August, with Jackson's Confederates in march on Manassas Junction, entirely careless and oblivious as to what General Pope might do. Pope's forces were scattered over long miles of territory and not cohesive. Jackson's audacious dash and moves, together with Longstreet's rapid approach, made General Pope nervous and he apparently lost touch with his forces. He was slow in concentrations and was completely outgeneraled by the alert Jackson, who seemed to be able to do whatever he pleased within the Union lines. When Pope had gathered what he could of his own Corps, with some slight additions from the Army of the Potomac and Burnside's Corps, he proposed to catch Jackson in a trap. The wily Jackson appreciated the situation, and with his back to the Blue Ridge, for retreat, offered battle upon part of the ground of the old Bull Run battlefield of '61, selecting his own position of defense at leisure, and feeling no trepidation as to the result of the coming conflict. The battle that ensued is known and entitled the " Second Bull Run." It was fought largely along the Warrenton Pike toward Groveton and Gainesville, and covered in its intensity the 29th and 30th of August. Longstreet's Confederate column had reached the field in time to protect Jackson's right flank, and participated most effectually in the battle.

After two days of heavy conflict, Pope decided to withdraw from

the field. He fell back to Centreville, where his army occupied some old entrenchments. On September 1st, there was a fight at Chantilly, in which General Philip Kearny and General Isaac I. Stevens were killed. The whole Union Army finally withdrew to the fortifications around Washington. Pope was relieved of his command, which had returned to Washington a shattered, bruised mass. The fighting had been excellent, brave and courageous, but the tactics of the field, in the judgment of military critics, most execrable.

The controversies between the officers of the army of Pope were many and bitter, General Fitz John Porter of the 5th Corps, being duly tried by court martial, for disobedience of orders, and dismissed from the service. Many years afterwards, during the administration of General Grant as President, he was reinstated to his original rank.

The cost of Pope's campaign was over 14,000 killed, wounded and missing. The Confederate loss is computed at a little more than 9,000.

CONFEDERATE MOVEMENTS

At this time, let us revert to the Confederate Army and its movements, after the disastrous Union defeats of the Second Bull Run and Chantilly — the latter fought on September 1st, being the last battle fought by Pope's army in the campaign. Immediately after the battle of Chantilly, it was believed in Washington that the Confederate Army would cross the Potomac River in the immediate vicinity of the Capital and capture it. So confident of this result were many of the authorities there that it was commonly expressed in the phrase —" Washington is lost ".

But General Lee had no such intention. He knew the strength of the fortifications around Washington, and he also knew that even a defeated army behind such fortifications could and would repulse his worn out battalions should they attempt an assault such as would be demanded for so great a task. Instead he evolved a broader scheme, as General John G. Walker, a Confederate officer, states in an article in the Century Magazine. As stated in this article of General Walker, General Lee's signal successes had greatly emboldened him. His plan of operations was an invasion of Maryland, the arousing of the Secession element supposed to exist in that State, the recruiting of his depleted ranks from an enthusiastic populace; then a march toward Hagerstown and Williamsport, Maryland; the destruction of the bridges of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; then, unopposed as he believed he would be by any considerable armed force,

to proceed up the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania, with its fertile fields and large granaries, for rich supplies; on to the Susquehanna River, at Harrisburg, destroying the railroads and railroad bridges, thus paralyzing two great railroad arteries and leaving only the Northern or lake railroads open for communication between the

Courtesy of the Century Co.

RATIONS FROM THE STALK—CONFEDERATE

Eastern and Western States. That accomplished, as master of the situation, he could march on Philadelphia or Baltimore, cut off Washington, compel a surrender and finally dictate terms of peace; a recognition of the Confederacy. Glorious prospect! He had vanquished two of the large armies of the Union and rendered them dormant for many weeks at least.

Lee knew General McClellan was an able officer, but too cautious, generally over estimating the enemy and under estimating his own forces for action. He had a knowledge of the organizing faculty

of McClellan, and gave him credit for an ability to reorganize the supposed demoralized Army of the Potomac and Army of Virginia. But he knew this would take time, many weeks, and time was an essential element in General Lee's plans. While McClellan was reorganizing his war worn and depleted forces, he, General Lee, would have accomplished his brilliant plans. It was a bright, hopeful picture.

Elatedly, therefore, the Confederate Army moved from the front

Courtesy of the Century Co.

JACKSON'S MEN WADING THE POTOMAC AT WHITE'S FORD

of Washington along the southern side of the Potomac River, toward Leesburg, Virginia, starting on its march September 3d. On the 5th of September, Jackson's Corps leading, the Confederates commenced crossing the Potomac River at White's Ford, a few miles from Leesburg. As was to be expected from victorious troops, hilarity prevailed at the crossing. The men in the ranks sang "Maryland My Maryland", a popular Southern song, and, legend has it, Stonewall Jackson doffed his hat toward the Maryland shore. He arrived at Frederick, Maryland, on the 6th of September, but the exodus of the

stalwart sons of Maryland into the decimated ranks of Confederate regiments did not eventuate. The men in the ranks were dirty and ragged, not likely to inspire patriotism or recruiting. Lee, Jackson and Longstreet were disappointed, sadly disappointed, at the response to their appeal to "Maryland My Maryland". The Confederates remained in this vicinity until the 10th of September, when Jackson moved on his rapid and successful march to capture Harper's Ferry, while Longstreet followed shortly after toward the South Mountain and Hagerstown, leaving D. H. Hill's division to cover the rear of the Confederate Army and to take position on South Mountain, in lines of defense; this on September 11th. General J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry guarded the flanks and operated in front and rear of the Confederate columns while in movement.

ARMY OF THE POTOMAC MARCH

By the 7th of September the troops of McClellan had assembled on the north side of the Potomac and were awaiting orders. No one had been appointed to command them. They lay in their various camps awaiting such instructions as their superiors might issue, ready to go anywhere. They were a strange aggregation, the thinned ranks of decimated regiments, brigades, divisions and corps. They were not exactly tatterdemalions, but looked "very seedy", in modern expression, with worn out clothing, hatless, or with mixed hats and caps in the same regiments, and with shoes that were on the verge of collapse and did collapse to the bare feet. It was an assembly appearing to the ordinary man like anything but veterans or fighting soldiers. They appeared to be discouraged, evidently from the want of inspiration and leadership.

A process of reorganization had been going on for several days. General Pleasanton was gathering such cavalry as he could, and they were already skirting the roads westward and northward in quest of signs of the enemy. General Henry J. Hunt, who had been recently appointed Chief of Artillery of the Army of the Potomac, made every endeavor to secure artillery. The batteries of the two large armies that had been engaged in the great conflicts of the Peninsula and Pope's campaign had been badly crippled and disorganized. Hunt was an energetic officer and went to work at once to reorganize the service. As fast as he could obtain batteries or parts of batteries he reformed them for active service, refitted them on the march and assigned them to divisions and corps, irrespective of their former associations. It was a laborious task, but General Hunt accomplished

wonders, as the final result proved. Ammunition was taken from the arsenal at Washington, horses from the baggage trains, and men from the infantry regiments, so that each battery might be placed in fighting condition, as far as possible. Hunt's artillery, that was to do such magnificent service, was organized on the march and during the days of the battle. General Pleasanton took four batteries of horse artillery for cavalry attachment and they also did efficient work in the approaching campaign.

General McClellan on the 7th of September left Washington and made headquarters near the Sixth Corps, at Rockville, Maryland. He had left General N. P. Banks in command of Washington, bade adieu to the authorities, and he may be said, from this date, to be fairly afield. He took in the crux of the situation and determined to master it.

When on the 8th it became noised through the camps that McClellan was again to lead the army, that the halt in the vicinity of Washington was at an end, and marching orders were at every headquarters, it sent a gleam of joy into the disheartened men. It was an inspiration, and, almost in a day, the lost morale was re-established and song and story were revived around the camp fires. Seldom in warfare had defeated armies undergone such a change. Order almost out of chaos; and a body of troops now marching along the various roads, toward the west in Maryland, that could not be surpassed for fighting qualities. They had proven that upon many a bitter, sanguinary field. They were veterans of the highest mould — these men of the various corps; and the recruits who joined them in camp, and even on the road, vied with the veterans in the regularity of step and ardor of confidence. In writing of recruits, they are not referred to as individuals. They came by regiments, fresh from the Northern States: came with equipments, knapsacks filled with "goodies", haversacks, canteens, but, generally, without muskets or rifles, and these were not furnished until they reached Washington. Thousands of these new men had never handled a gun or fired a musket in their lives before they enlisted. They had been sent to the front under the exigency of the occasion, to save Washington. They were a fine body of soldiers, with new uniforms, strong in numbers, commanded by officers who knew little more about drill and discipline than the privates in the ranks, except in instances where officers of old regiments had resigned to take command of new organizations, and whose experience aided in bringing the new men into respectable form. These new additions to the

army forces, divided among the old veteran corps, were drilled on the march, drilled as much as possible, principally in learning the manual of arms, loading and firing, and such necessary movements of company and regiment as to give them some idea of formation. It must be understood here that the arms used by the Civil War infantry were mainly Springfield muskets. A Springfield musket had its bayonet, was loaded with a cartridge and ball inserted at the muzzle of the gun and rammed down with a long ramrod, while a percussion cap, inserted on a nozzle, with a trigger for snap ignited the cartridge. This was the main weapon for active use. And in drilling, to use this weapon, required, as all old veterans will recall, "One time and nine motions" to fire. The breech loader had not yet come into use. The Springfield musket was an excellent instrument of destruction at short range and was quickly handled by the veterans. The new regiments soon learned the routine.

Under the suns of September, in Maryland, as the soldiers trod over the country roads, the new regiments began to feel the fatigue of heavy accoutrement. A few days of this fatigue and the knapsacks were thrown anywhere on the line of march. It was found to be impedimenta, and the saving of a blanket and part of a "dog" or "pup" tent was about all the tired recruit thought of. He was becoming veteranized very fast, in the sense that he was getting rid of extra material. The veteran believed in riddance of all superfluous goods. He wanted no weight to carry that would interfere with his marching or fighting ability. He wanted to be what he called himself —"Light Infantry". To the old soldiers, the knapsacks of the new soldiers were rich prizes, filled as they were with underclothing, much of it just placed there by mother, sister, wife, or even daughter, for the majority of the new recruits were only recruited in August and were now on the road to battle in early September. Generally when new regiments arrived in veteran camps, there was some joking or jibing. "Greenhorns", "Jay Hawkers", "Baby Boys", "Mamma's Pets", were some of the pleasantries hurled at them and all received in good part. On this Antietam march, however, the remarks were not jocular, but in a serious vein, such as "Glad to see 'em", "Fine looking fellows", and so they were. As the old decimated rankers saw the new uniforms and long, full ranks pass by, the exclamation would be "God bless them, a full brigade", although it was but a regiment. These remarks were due to the new soldiers of that famous march. They did splendid service on the fighting front.

The onerous duties performed by the regiments in the Peninsula and Pope's campaign had enervated the men; sickness had overtaken large numbers and there was a general feeling described as "Goneness". It led to great straggling; and these stragglers were not cowards. They dropped out of the ranks from pure inability to keep up with their comrades, from sheer physical exhaustion. Day by day, after the battle of South Mountain had been fought, these stragglers came up the road by thousands, to rejoin their commands. General Lee complained bitterly of the straggling of the Confederates in the Maryland campaign. He denounced them as cowards and skulkers, terms that Jackson's and Longstreet's men did not deserve. They were brave, valiant soldiers, but hungry, tired and footsore, after long marches and severe battles, with their energy dissipated, their frames worn down by physical conditions. The man on horseback, commanding, does not always estimate this and forms a wrong conclusion in regard to the temporarily disabled soldier on foot.

Now the Union columns are in full motion toward a goal, unknown to the chief or the privates. The whole intent is to keep Lee from capturing Washington or Baltimore, mayhap Philadelphia or New York, if he should be successful in his plans. Stop Lee — defeat his army — that was the slogan. By the 7th of September, McClellan had learned that Lee had crossed the Potomac and was at Frederick. That meant an invasion of that State. McClellan's task was to drive him out if he could. Pleasanton's cavalry was already out feeling the roads leading toward Frederick, and guarding as well as possible, with his small force, against any aggressive movements of the Confederates along the Potomac River. The only orders from Halleck, the General in Chief, were: "Move cautiously and save Washington". Beyond this he seems to have had no conception of the magnitude of the task. Only one idea seems to have possessed him, to keep Col. Miles at Harper"s Ferry with his 10,000 Union troops, against the remonstrances of McClellan and his appeals that they should be permitted to join his army. His old arm chair and a comfortable bed, with substantial meals, were irresistible to Halleck. His principal amusement was fault finding, sending mixed telegrams and orders to commanding generals, and then denying them. "Move cautiously" he telegraphed McClellan, and when the battle was over and won, he found fault with the slowness of the march!

The columns are going. On the 9th of September, the 1st Corps, Hooker's, and 9th Corps, Reno's, under Burnside, known as the left

wing, were at Brookville. The 2nd Corps, Sumner's, and the 12th Corps, Williams', formed the center wing, under Sumner, at Middlebrook, while the 6th Corps, Franklin's, Couch's Division of the 4th Corps, and Sykes' division of the 5th Corps, formed the right wing, under Franklin, at Darnestown, north of Seneca and Rockville.

Without pursuing each individual corps in its marches from place to place, by the 12th of September the various Corps were established as follows: 9th Corps at Middletown; 1st Corps at Frederick; 2nd and 12th Corps at Frederick; 6th Corps at Buckeystown, Couch's division at Lickville, and Sykes' division at Frederick.

On September 14th the battle of South Mountain occurred, embracing the 9th, 1st, and 6th Corps, with the 2nd and 12th Corps in reserve. On the march, in addition to Pleasanton's Cavalry, Couch's division had pursued the Potomac River route (north bank) watching the river fords finally joining Franklin. Every precaution was taken to guard against a Confederate surprise from the south bank of the river.

General Halleck, residing comfortably in Washington, advises McClellan that Lee is subtle enough to draw him away from the Capital and then recross the river twice, getting between him and the Capital; or he might go down the Virginia side of the river, and attack Washington from that position. When informed that this was not likely to be the case, that all information, and very convincing at that, was to the effect that the whole Confederate Army was west of Frederick, heading for the mountains, the spurs of the Blue Ridge, General Halleck offered to send the remainder of General Keyes' 4th Corps (Couch being already on the march) and General Sigel with the 11th Corps, as reinforcements to the main Union Army. General McClellan gladly accepted the offer but not a man was sent pursuant thereto. On the 12th of September, General Halleck placed Harper's Ferry under McClellan's orders.

On the 13th of September, an important event occurred. An official order of General Lee fell into the hands of General McClellan. It was dated on the 9th of September, and addressed to Major General D. H. Hill. It contained directions for the various commanders of the Confederate forces, instructive particularly as to the methods to be pursued in the attack on Harper's Ferry. This order had been accidentally picked up by a private of the 27th Indiana (12th Corps), and was immediately forwarded to General McClellan. It incited a rapid and vigorous forward movement. Before that he had been carefully feeling his way. Now he had learned of prime facts, and the bugles sounded for prompt action.

Among the numerous despatches received by McClellan from General Halleck, the General in Chief, was one advising him to proceed close to the Potomac River with his army — practically to follow the river road. The maps of General Halleck depicted such a road, and it looked like a nearer approach to Harper's Ferry. But General Halleck did not know the topography of the country through which this road ran, of its hilly character close to the banks of the Potomac; that marching ranks of infantry could be mowed down by Confederate artillery on the south bank, that a Union line of battle there would simply be a slaughter pen. General McClellan guarded the Potomac, but kept the main columns in supporting distance in the interior, as indicated in his marching orders.

General Pleasanton's cavalry had reached Middletown, on the Catoctin range of mountains, much lower than the South Mountain range, and a very pretty village even in the Civil War days lying on the main National Road. He had several smart skirmishes with Stuart's Confederate cavalry during his advance from Washington. Near Middletown he met with considerable resistance, but finally drove the enemy, leaving him an opportunity to advance on South Mountain, which he did in gallant style, crossing Catoctin Creek and reaching Turner's Gap, on the main road over the South Mountain. This on the evening of September 13th. On the early morning of the 14th, Pleasanton sent dismounted cavalry skirmishers up the mountain side.

General Burnside, in the meantime, had sent Colonel Scammon's brigade of the Kanawha division to reinforce the cavalry. Scammon was directed to go to Fox's Gap, a short distance to the south of Turner's Gap, and on the old Sharpsburg Road. General Cox soon brought up another brigade of the Kanawha division. Then General Reno, commanding the 9th Corps, arrived and assumed command of the operating forces. Many of the Corps started in movement on the night of the 13th, others on the morning of the 14th, headed toward South Mountain and its passes. General Franklin's 6th Corps by way of Burkittsville, advanced on Crampton's Pass. By noon he had reached the foot of the mountain. The mountain in general reaches a height of from 1,000 to 1,200 feet. At the passes noted, Turner's, Fox's and Crampton's, sometimes known as the Gaps, the height is about 1,000 feet, heavily wooded and at sharp angles.

The official orders of McClellan on the night of the 13th were: Hooker's First Corps, then at Monocacy, to march at daylight on

the 14th for Middletown; Sykes' division, Fifth Corps, after Hooker; Artillery Reserve to follow Sykes; Sumner, at Frederick, to move Second and Twelfth Corps to Middletown; Couch's division, Fourth Corps, to Jefferson — all at early hours in the morning. The troops moved very nearly on the time indicated.

As one of the main points of this narrative of battles is to present the location of New York organizations and services rendered, it may be well to note that several skirmishes were participated in during the march by New York men. Among these were:

September 6th and 7th: Skirmish at Point of Rocks, Maryland, Fifth Artillery.

September 8th: Tate Church, Twenty-first Infantry.

September 13th: Hyattstown, First and Sixth Cavalry.

September 10th and 11th: Sugar Loaf Mountain, Forty-third Infantry.

September 12th: Frederick, Maryland, First and Sixth Cavalry.

September 13th: Jefferson, Ninth, Eighty-ninth and One Hundred and Third Infantry.

These skirmishes, some severe, were but preludes to the major operations of the main army, yet significant in the sense of discovering locations of the enemy and driving him from his haunts and ambushes, opening the roads for the advance of the larger forces.

Colonel McReynolds with his cavalry, First New York, was sent off in the direction of Gettysburg, for scouting purposes, on the 13th, and performed valuable service.

ORDERS TO McCLELLAN

That the administration at Washington and especially the Commander in Chief Halleck, were very much perturbed about the then situation is evidenced in the want of knowledge concerning the location and movements of the Confederate forces as is shown by the telegrams and orders sent to General McClellan on the march toward South Mountain and Antietam.

On the 9th of September, just as the Union Army was starting on its march, the following telegram was received:

"Until we can get better advices about the numbers of the enemy at Dranesville, I think we must be very cautious about stripping too much the forts on the Virginia side. It may be the enemy's object to draw off the mass of our forces and then attempt to attack from the Virginia side of the Potomac. Think of this."

Again on the 11th as follows: "Why not order forward Keyes or Sigel? I think the main force of the enemy is in your front. More troops can be spared from here."

General McClellan asserts that when General Halleck was called before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, Halleck testified that this telegram read as follows: "Why not order forward Porter's Corps or Sigel's? *If the main force of the enemy is in your front,* more troops can be spared from here."

Pursuant to this suggestion, General McClellan asked for more troops. None were sent to him.

On the 13th General Halleck telegraphed as follows: "Until you know more certainly the enemy's forces south of the Potomac, you are wrong in thus uncovering the Capital. I am of the opinion that the enemy will send a small column toward Pennsylvania to draw your forces in that direction, then suddenly move on Washington with the forces south of the Potomac and thus he may cross over."

On the 14th, General Halleck telegraphed as follows: "Scouts report a large force still on the Virginia side of the Potomac. If so, I fear you are exposing your left and rear."

(On the 13th General McClellan had received Lee's "lost order" and instantly decided to attack the Confederates. Orders to that effect were immediately promulgated. On the 14th the Union troops were in attack at South Mountain.)

Again on the 16th, with McClellan preparing his army to fight the battle of Antietam the next day, Halleck sends the following order:

"War Department,
"September 16, 1862.
"12.20 P. M.

"Major-General McClellan: Yours of 7 A. M. is this moment received. As you give me no information in regard to the position of your forces, except that at Sharpsburg, of course I cannot advise. I think, however, you will find that the whole force of the enemy in your front has crossed the river. I fear now more than ever that they will recross at Harper's Ferry or below, and turn your left, thus cutting you off from Washington. This has appeared to me to be a part of their plan, and hence my anxiety on the subject. A heavy rain might prevent it.

"H. W. HALLECK,
"General-in-Chief."

(No wonder that General U. S. Grant, referring to Halleck should remark: "A strategist should be at the fighting front, never at the seat of political authority.")

In reference to the question of Harper's Ferry, General McClellan on the morning of the 10th, at his camp at Rockville, just outside of Washington, sent the following despatch to General Halleck:

"CAMP NEAR ROCKVILLE,
"Sept. 10, 1862, 9:45 A. M.

"MAJOR GENERAL HALLECK,
"Washington, D. C.

"Col. Miles is at or near Harper's Ferry, as I understand, with 9,000 troops. He can do nothing where he is, but could be of great service if ordered to join me. I suggest that he be ordered to join me by the most practicable route.

"GEORGE B. McCLELLAN."

To this Halleck replied as follows:

"Washington, D. C.,
"September 11, 1862.

"GEORGE B. McCLELLAN,
"Major General:

"There is no way for Col. Miles to join you at present. His only chance is to defend his works till you can open communication with him.

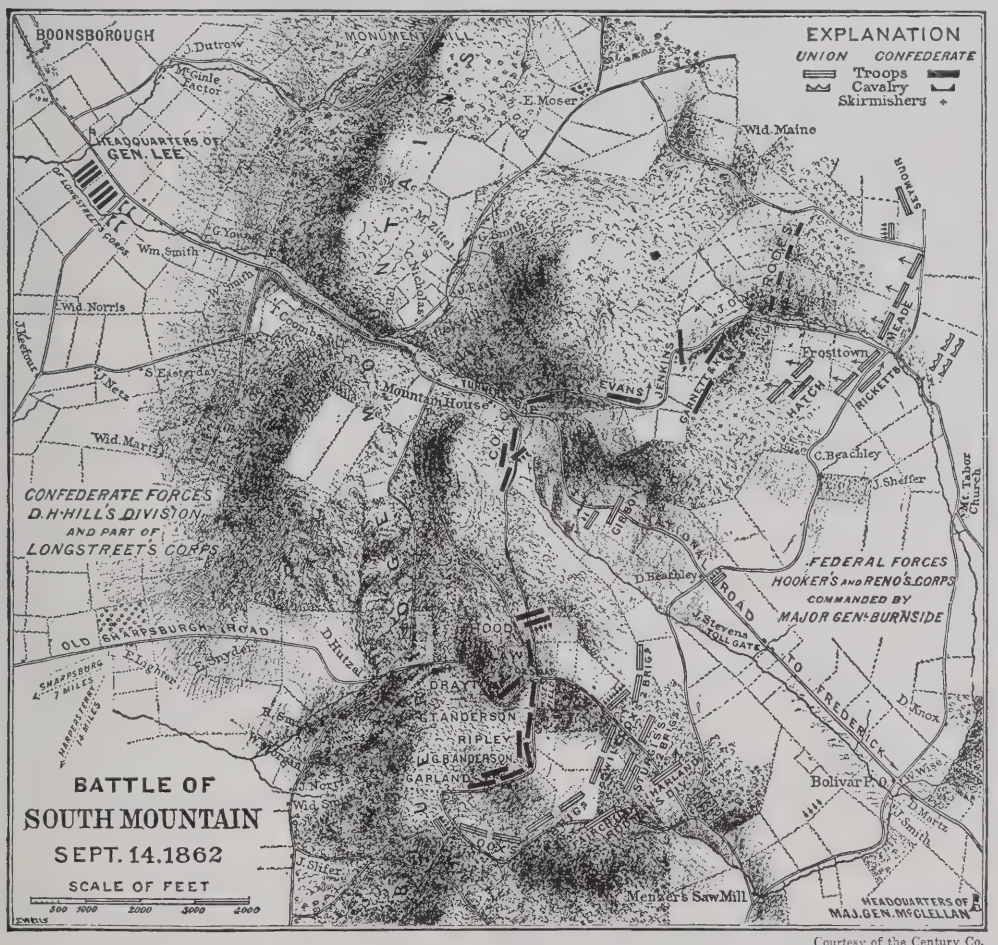
"H. W. HALLECK."

(Colonel Dixon S. Miles, the commander at Harper's Ferry, was an old Regular Army officer always obedient to orders from higher authority. He obeyed General Halleck, was trapped at Harper's Ferry, losing his life in defense of his position. He could have retreated to Hagerstown, north, without an obstacle in his path at the time General McClellan made his request for this particular reinforcement.)

SOUTH MOUNTAIN

South Mountain, as observed from the east, runs southwestwardly and northeasterly, presenting a most imposing appearance — beautiful in heavy woods and huge crags. Eastwardly, toward Middletown, and near the foot of the mountains, runs Catoctin Creek, a small stream easily forded.

As stated before, the height of the eminence is from 1,000 to 1,200 feet, and it rises in many places with a gentle slope, but at other points almost perpendicularly, and at all points rough limestone rocks crop out from the soil, apparently made so by the earth being washed away in the frequent rains of the ages. Large rocks and boulders have fallen from the mountain top and sides in the



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MAP OF THE POSITIONS AT FOX'S AND TURNER'S GAPS

torrents of the centuries. These rocks and boulders form a natural fortification against any attempt of an enemy to scale the heights. But at intervals, on the mountain side, hardy pioneers had made cuttings into the dense woods and established openings for tillable land and little farms. On the table-land at the top of the mountain are many fair sized holdings which are regularly cultivated, the free-

holders of these possessions marking their boundaries with strong stone fences; and it was these stone fences which gave the Confederate forces, who possessed the mountain, a great advantage. It was an axiom of Napoleon that where troops attack a fortified position, the assailants should outnumber the fortified three or four to one. It is well to remember this in the narrative to follow. Several roads lead over the mountain crest, the principal ones in which the battle history centers being through gaps, the main one Turner's Gap, or the Hagerstown or National Pike, northernmost; Fox's Gap, or old Sharpsburg Road, about a mile south; and Crampton's Gap almost five or six miles further south, leading over into Pleasant Valley. The Turnpike, at the time of the battle, was the best road of the three; the old Sharpsburg and Crampton Roads being seldom used were only in passable condition.

It was to secure these three roads and the upland on top that the Union advance was made. It was a strongly defensible position, and if General Lee had placed his whole army there, instead of trusting to the forces of D. H. Hill and Longstreet, to oppose the Union advance, the battle might have been different in its results. However this is mere speculation. The battle as it was fought is the purport of these annals.

General Pleasanton's Union cavalry had skirmished with the enemy on the 13th, reaching the foot of Turner's and Fox's Gaps by evening, and discovering that infantry lines were established on the mountain, with skirmishers well to the front. He rested his men at the foot of the mountain, encamping for the night. During the night he communicated with General Burnside, requesting infantry reinforcements. Burnside complied as promptly as possible, sending forward Cox's Kanawha Division, Colonel Scammon's brigade being the first to arrive, and being sent to the left to the old Sharpsburg Road, it being the design of General Pleasanton to attack and turn the Confederate right, as nearly as Pleasanton apprehended the situation. Scammon's brigade reached Pleasanton about nine o'clock in the morning of the 14th, having marched from Middletown about the break of day. They immediately formed a skirmish line. Crook's brigade arrived soon thereafter, General Cox accompanying them. Genral Reno sent word that the whole of the Ninth Corps was in motion for action and for Cox to attack. Then Scammon started, his whole front covered by skirmishers, deploying his command as he commenced the ascent of the slope, taking the left of the road. The Kanawha Division men were experts at moun-

tain climbing and fighting. They had been brought east from the high hills and woods of Western Virginia and they went at their present task with a will and a vim. The heavy fire they received on the slope soon convinced them that the Confederates were there to stay. They were in front of a North Carolina brigade, and the blaze of musketry and artillery fire assured Scammon that a terrifying contest was opening; but he fought his way to the crest, and, though charged upon again and again, his brigade succeeded in establishing itself there. The enemy were behind stone walls, protected by timber land and rocks, and one of its batteries poured canister, grape and case shot into the blue Union lines, but that line did not falter, keeping steadily on until it planted its colors on the summit. The heavy guns of Simmonds' and McMullin's Union batteries had aided greatly in the ascent by belching fire into the gap and road. Simmonds' battery finally reached the top and bravely assisted the infantry line. The enemy charged boldly several times, trying to retake the crest, but were repulsed each time they made the attempt. Crook's brigade, in the meantime, had also reached the crest, and for the time being relieved Scammon's regiments and in turn were relieved. A section of McMullin's battery had also reached the crest, but was soon disabled by the enemy and the lieutenant commanding killed. In Scammon's brigade was the 23d Ohio Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes (Commissary Sergeant William McKinley was also in this regiment), each subsequently becoming President of the United States. In one of the charges, Hayes was severely wounded, his regiment forced back and he lay between the contending lines. But his men recovered him and he was borne to the rear and safety. A singular coincidence occurred here. The 12th and 23d Ohio infantry were opposed by the 12th and 23d North Carolina infantry. It was Garland's famous brigade which was there, among the best in the Confederate Army. In the action, General Garland, its brave commander, was killed. In the charges, bayonets were freely used and many of the men on both sides were killed by bayonet thrusts.

The action was now fairly open. South Mountain was making its passage into history. The battle on the part of Cox's two brigades continued until about noon when there was a lull in the action, which continued, save skirmish firing, until about 3.30 o'clock in the afternoon. The two brigades with Cox, it was acknowledged by General Hill on the Confederate side, had practically used up both Garland's and Anderson's brigades, and if Cox had been aware

of the real state of affairs he could have marched to the Mountain House, at Turner's Gap. Ripley's brigade, of Hill's forces, had fallen back along the west side of the mountain, under some mistaken order, and really never was in this part of the action.

At about 3.30 o'clock, coming from Hagerstown and Boonesboro, the Confederate divisions of Longstreet began to arrive on the western slope and were placed in position along the crest of the mountain; while about the same time Willcox arrived with his division of the Union Ninth Corps. Drayton's brigade and Hood's division of two brigades, Longstreet's corps, were the first to arrive upon the field, toward Fox's Gap. Willcox immediately began to feel out the Confederate lines and he found he was strongly opposed, and that his left was in some danger. He at once sent over a regiment to prevent a flanking movement. In the meantime Sturgis' division had been following in support of Willcox, and, from time to time, as the regiments of Willcox ran out of ammunition Sturgis' regiments relieved them on the front line.

Rodman's division had also reached the top of the mountain and had acted as a reserve force. His troops were used mainly to assist Willcox and Sturgis upon the flanks. Fairchild's brigade, consisting of the 9th, 89th, and 103d New York, took positions at the extreme left of the fighting line, while Harland's brigade was sent to the extreme right and placed in position by General Rodman himself. It was one of the most important positions, as reinforcements to the Confederates were apt to come from the right. The fight along the line was continuous, and at 4 P. M. the order was given to advance the whole front. The men under orders to move went forward with alacrity and most enthusiastically. They met with desperate resistance on the part of the Confederates who were stationed behind the stone walls, but Willcox forced them back. Then, when Willcox's troops were practically exhausted, Sturgis relieved him as far as possible along the line, and did magnificent service. The fighting continued until very near dusk, with charge and counter charge, clubbed muskets being used in many instances. About dark, Fairchild was attacked on the left of the line, but he repulsed every effort to turn that flank. About 7 P. M., Sturgis and the Kanawha division made a series of attacks on the Confederate line and fought nearly one hour, making progress forward, but unable to drive the Confederates out of their positions.

It was while on the right of the line, moving to the left, in the dusk of the evening, and getting too close to the enemy's skirmish

line, that General Reno was killed. General Reno was one of the noblest characters and one of the finest commanders in the Union service. His loss was deeply lamented.

In Willcox's division, Christ's brigade, was the 79th New York (Highlanders); in Welsh's brigade, the 46th New York, a German regiment; in Sturgis' division, Ferrero's brigade, was the 51st New

Courtesy of the Century Co.

VIEW FROM TURNER'S GAP, NEAR THE MOUNTAIN HOUSE

York (Shepard Rifles); in Rodman's division, Fairchild's brigade were the 9th New York (Hawkins' Zouaves), 89th New York, and the 103d New York. Each of these regiments performed meritorious and magnificent service — the 79th New York (Highlanders) being especially mentioned by General McClellan in his official report.

After dark, the Confederates started camp fires and skirmish shooting; and then, a little later, retired down the western slope of

the mountain, passing through Boonsboro and Keedysville, stopping near Antietam Creek.

The Confederate troops opposed to the 9th corps at Fox's Gap consisted of the brigades of Garland, G. B. Anderson, and Ripley of Hill's division; reinforced later by the brigades of G. T. Anderson, Drayton's and two brigades of Hood's division, Law and Wofford, of Longstreet's corps.

While the firing at Fox's Gap, on the left, was going on, General Burnside had ordered the First Corps, under Hooker, to the right at Turner's Gap, for the purpose of making an assault from that position, as well as relieving the pressure on Reno at Fox's Gap. Hooker had to make quite a long march from the Monocacy River, through Frederick. He reached Middletown about 1 P. M. About 2 o'clock, his leading division, Meade's, was ordered to march down a side road, near the bottom of Turner's Gap, and to proceed to the right, by way of Mt. Tabor church, and take position on what was considered the Union right. Before Meade was ordered to advance, the other two divisions of Hooker's Corps, Hatch's and Ricketts', had arrived, and the whole of the First Corps was ordered into action. Meade was on the right with Seymour's brigade of Pennsylvania reserves on the extreme right flank. Hatch's division formed to the left of Meade. This was the order of formation for the advance, with Ricketts' division in reserve. They formed at the bottom of the mountain, advancing in perfect line of battle, so well balanced that Hooker, who was watching the movement, became enthusiastic and shouted: "They are doing that as handsomely as though they were on parade".

Skirmishers were sent in advance of both division lines and forced their way up through the thick woods, over the rugged rocks, over defiles and crevices, until they were met by a storm of musketry which fell even into the main line. The attack on the part of the main line was vigorous, determined, forceful and successful. Meade drove everything before him, while meeting with stubborn resistance. It was a great feat on the part of this line, considering the precipitous side of the mountain, and the nature of the defense, to make this advance in the form in which it was made, and to achieve the success that resulted from their effort. While in movement, Meade discovered that the right of his line was in some danger, by reason of a flank movement on the part of the Confederates and Duryea's brigade, of Ricketts' division, was sent to the extreme right of the Union forces and drove away the Confederates who were endeavoring to turn Meade's right.

Hatch, on Meade's left, had also met with violent opposition. He had the same troubles with natural obstructions that had been met and overcome by Meade, but had surmounted them all, so that both divisions, with the reinforcements received from time to time from Ricketts, reached the top of the mountain between sundown and dark, almost together.

While this was going on, in the middle front extending from Turner's Gap to possibly a mile or a mile and a half to the right on the mountain range, Gibbon's brigade, of Hatch's division, had been detailed to make a movement on Turner's Gap direct, following the course of the National Turnpike or the Hagerstown Road. Gibbon's brigade was made up of men of Wisconsin, Michigan and Indiana, and was known as the " Iron Brigade ". It was a splendid body of men. In their advance they fought on both sides of the main road taking advantage of all the clefts, gullies, defiles and crevices with which this road abounds from its start at the bottom to the utmost limit of the top, endeavoring to force a passage. Colquitt's Confederate brigade was defending Turner's Gap almost exclusively. It met the splendid advance being made by Gibbon and for a time, by reason of the difficult ground and the narrow space, held up the advance. Gibbon seeing the need of help secured the aid of Christian's brigade, Ricketts' division, and was also reinforced by Hartsuff's brigade of the same division. They swept the opposition before them and gained the mountain top, or near it, by the time Meade and Hatch had reached the extreme crest. It was now dark, and while the main firing and fighting were terminated there were occasional charges and counter charges at different points on the line and the firing continued until nearly 10 P. M. When it died away, and the Union troops felt they were safe in lying down and taking a rest, they did so only to find, on the morrow, that while they were sleeping, and at some time during the night, the Confederate forces had silently stolen away — disappeared.

The troops on the Confederate side to the north of Turner's Gap, as arranged by brigades, consisted of Evans, Jenkins, Garnett, Kemper and Rodes. The first four of these brigades belonged to Longstreet's Corps, Rodes belonging to Hill's division, which had been fighting on the south end of the field at Fox's Gap. As nearly as can be judged, Hatch fought with Evans, Jenkins and Garnett, while Meade fought with Kemper and Rodes. Ricketts sent up Union reserve forces to aid and assist them on all portions of the line.

During the engagement, and immediately preceding it, Hooker's batteries played on open fields and assisted very materially in exposing the enemy's position by drawing their fire; and it may be said here, as the Confederates themselves expressed it, the Confederate batteries that day replied to the Union artillery with no effect whatever and uselessly, shooting overhead, particularly on the Hooker line of attack.

In Hatch's division of the First corps, Phelps' brigade contained the 22nd, 24th, 30th, and 84th N. Y. (14th Brooklyn Militia). In Doubleday's brigade were the 76th and 95th N. Y., 1st N. Y. Light Battery L, Captain John A. Reynolds. In General Patrick's brigade, of Hatch's division, were the 21st, 23rd, 35th N. Y. and 80th N. Y. (20th State Militia). In Ricketts' division, Duryea's brigade, were the 77th, 104th and 105th N. Y. In Christian's brigade were the 26th and 94th N. Y. In Hartsuff's brigade was the 83rd N. Y. (9th N. Y. Militia).

In concluding this portion of the battle of South Mountain, it may be said that at the opening of the fight on the south side of Turner's Gap, toward the old Sharpsburg Road, with General Daniel H. Hill, Confederate commander, opening the battle in the morning against Cox's Kanawha division, as already related, and finding he was being overmastered by the advancing troops and seeing what he considered was the whole Army of the Potomac in movement, he called for reinforcements. General Longstreet at this time was located at Hagerstown, twelve miles away, and upon receipt of the call immediately came down the Hagerstown Pike, and proceeded to the assistance of Hill, reaching the field of battle to the north and south of Turner's Gap at about the same time the Union troops of the Ninth and First corps were arriving, so that practically these lines came in contact with each other upon arrival on the field, coming up both from the east and west sides of the mountain. Longstreet reports his troops were very thoroughly exhausted by the time they had reached the mountain; yet it is scarcely consistent to speak of the exhaustion of his troops coming only twelve miles over a perfect turnpike, and at the same time to overlook the fact that Hooker's troops had marched from the Monocacy River and over the steep side of the Catoctin mountain, a distance of from sixteen to eighteen miles, and had started at daylight to do it. So if fatigue was to be considered, it was on the side of Hooker and of the Union troops.

General Hatch was wounded during the engagement and General Doubleday assumed command of the division. Col. Wm. P. Wain-

wright assumed command of Doubleday's brigade, and the Colonel was also wounded. Then Lt. Col. J. Wm. Hoffman became commander of the brigade.

During the battle, the 2nd and 12th corps arrived toward dusk and were held in reserve for the evening campaign; and also the probable continuation of the battle on the next day, the 15th.

During the night of the 14th, General Lee arrived on the battle field and held a conference with Generals Longstreet and Hill on the crest of the mountain, raising the important question as to whether the position was one on which to make suitable battle the next day. Lee had no troops beyond those already in action of which he could make use, being compelled to await the arrival of Jackson, if he expected reinforcements at all. Under the circumstances, and upon explanation of the conditions on the field, from General Hill, it was decided to withdraw the Confederate forces to Sharpsburg and, as already stated, they retired toward that village during the night.

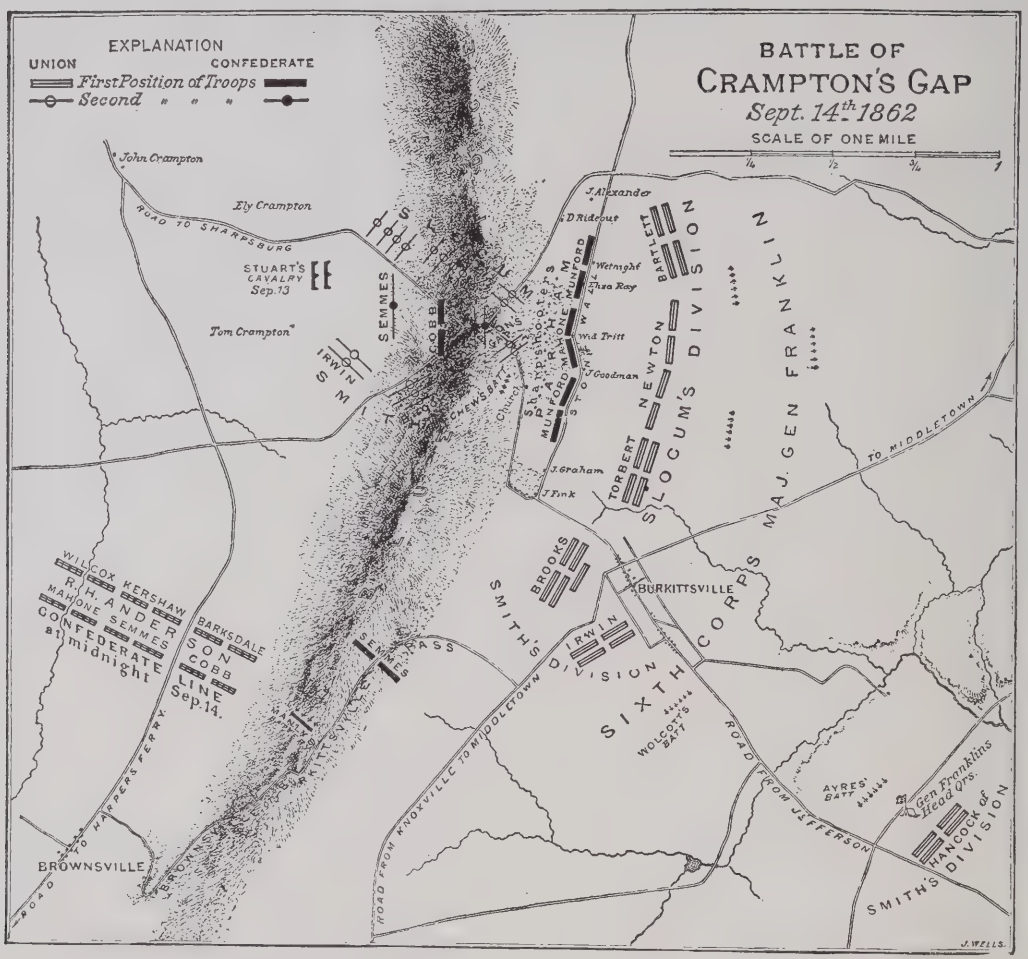
CRAMPTON'S GAP

Crampton's Gap is about five miles south of Turner's Gap and about four miles south of Fox's Gap, where the First and Ninth corps were engaged during the 14th of September. The road from the east toward Crampton's Gap, starts towards the mountain from the main turnpike near Middletown, ascending South Mountain by the road which reaches out to Rohrersville and Gapland on the west, thus leading to Pleasant Valley, with a full view of Maryland Heights and practically within three or four miles of Harper's Ferry, by a short route. The road on the east side of Crampton's Gap is quite precipitous and heavily wooded. Limestone ledges and rocks outcrop in all the fields, making it in effect very much like the Fox's Gap portion of the mountain, with the same difficulties of approach for offensive forces endeavoring to make a crossing over the mountain.

Immediately upon the discovery by General McClellan of the intention of the invasion of General Lee, made known to him by the finding of the "lost order," he made disposition of his forces for an attack on South Mountain, especially at Crampton's Gap, the nearest approach to Harper's Ferry. This was on the 13th of September. On the 12th of September, the preceding day, General Halleck issued an order to General McClellan transferring the command of Harper's Ferry, with all its details, to General McClellan. General McClellan at once got into communication with Colonel Miles, at Harper's Ferry, stating to him he would succor him as speedily as possible.

and to hold out as determinedly as circumstances would permit. The different corps of the army were at this time departing on various roads for the purpose, if possible, of discovering the enemy movements and making attacks.

General Franklin's Sixth Army Corps lay at Buckeystown, south of Frederick. On the evening of September 13, a peremptory order



Courtesy of the Century Co.

was received to march, by way of Crampton's Gap, to the relief of Harper's Ferry, at that time under process of beleagurement by General Jackson's Confederate corps. Immediately upon the receipt of the order, the command was given to march and at dawn of day on the 14th, Franklin's corps moved by the shortest route toward Crampton's Gap. About noon of the 14th, the head of Slocum's division, which was leading the Sixth corps, finding the enemy was on his front,

temporarily halted. Promptly, General Slocum notified General Franklin that the Confederates evidently were prepared for his advance, at the foot of the mountain, at a little hamlet called Burkittsville. His skirmishers developed the situation and discovered that a strong line of works were in their front. The works consisted largely, as was the case on all battlefields on South Mountain, of many stone walls and woods, making the situation one of strong defense against any offensive movement. The defense on the Confederate side consisted of part of Mumford's Confederate brigade of cavalry, dismounted and acting as infantry, Chew's battery, a section of the Portsmouth battery, assisted by a part of Mahone's brigade of R. H. Anderson's division, under Colonel William Parham. This was in the immediate front of General Slocum's division. On the mountain, in support of these forces, was part of Mahone's brigade and the full brigades of Semmes and Cobb of McLaws' division. General Howell Cobb was in general command.

Under direction of General Franklin, Slocum advanced. This was about noon. Bartlett's brigade was the first in movement, supported by the brigades of Torbert and Newton, finally spreading the line of battle over the territory occupied by the Confederates. On the left of the road, General Brooks, of Smith's division of the Sixth corps, advanced with Slocum's division, in furtherance of the movement. Franklin's orders to Slocum were to overcome the Confederate advance by a fierce attack on their infantry and to ascend the mountain if it were a possible thing to do so. Wolcott's First Maryland battery and Ayres' battery of artillery were stationed to the left of Burkittsville, and assisted materially in covering the infantry on its forward movement. Hancock's brigade of Smith's division was at Burkittsville in reserve. Pursuant to orders, Slocum moved steadily onward. As soon as the skirmishers were withdrawn from the division front, orders for the final rush were given by Slocum. The boys cheered as they received the order, sprang over the stone walls with magnificent alacrity, carrying the works and dislodging the enemy after some very fierce fighting. To a certain extent Parham's brigade and Munford's dismounted cavalry became a mob. Up the steep ascent of the mountain, through defile and heavy woods went the Union forces, in the face of eight heavy guns which the Confederates had placed on the roadway, and wherever a good situation could be found for them, in the defence of the mountain. Despite this artillery fire, Slocum's men moved forward as rapidly as the resistance permitted, chasing after the confused rabble of Confederates, giving them no opportunity to rally.

While Slocum was going up on the right or north end of the road, General Brooks' brigade was covering the south or left end and moving with almost the same rapidity as Slocum's men. Slocum reached the crest victorious. There he met the Confederate reserves arriving to help Parham and Mumford, then in retreat; but so vigorous had been Slocum's advance, that the troops of General Cobb only arrived in time to add to the general Confederate rout, making worse the terror of their flight. In this badly confused mass of Confederates was Cobb's brigade and a regiment of Semmes' brigade. This practically ended the battle. The Union forces occupied the crest and were victorious, the enemy rushing down the west slope of the mountain with all haste possible. It had been an arduous task for Slocum's division. Wearied and worn, they were glad to rest on the mountain top. Darkness coming on, no further movement was possible and the whole of the Sixth corps bivouacked for the night.

On the morning of the 15th, in pursuance of his orders, General Franklin purposed to move at daylight upon the enemy, moving down the western slope into Pleasant Valley, intending to reach Maryland Heights and relieve Harper's Ferry. It may be stated here that Couch's division, of the Fourth corps, arrived about 10 P. M. on the night of the 14th, and on the next morning were sent to Rohrersville. Franklin, from his position at the eastern end of Pleasant Valley, discovered McLaws' Confederate division in position across the valley and in most formidable array, ready for battle in a strongly defensive position. Franklin's purpose was to attack with Smith's division, which was to be supported by Slocum. But Slocum's division had been pretty well used up by its fierce attack of the day before and was not yet in condition to continue any effective work. Franklin thereupon decided that it was impossible to make a successful attack with Smith's division alone. Holding his forces well in hand, Franklin made a careful survey of McLaws' position and found it was defended upon the right and left flanks by high hills. He thereupon decided it would be hazardous to open the assault without more troops. He requested reinforcements, but none were immediately available or forwarded; so he abandoned the contemplated attack. Thus came to an end any hope of relieving Harper's Ferry. As a matter of fact, although Franklin did not know it, Harper's Ferry had surrendered on the morning of the 15th.

The New York regiments engaged in this battle were as follows: In Slocum's division were the 16th N. Y.; the 27th N. Y.; the 18th

N. Y.; the 121st N. Y.; the 31st N. Y. and 32nd N. Y. In Smith's division were the 43rd N. Y.; the 20th N. Y.; the 33rd N. Y.; the 49th N. Y.; the 77th N. Y. and Cowan's First New York Battery of Artillery. In Couch's division were the 36th N. Y.; the 62nd N. Y.; the 65th N. Y.; the 67th N. Y.; the 122nd N. Y. and Stuart's 3rd N. Y. Light Battery of Artillery.

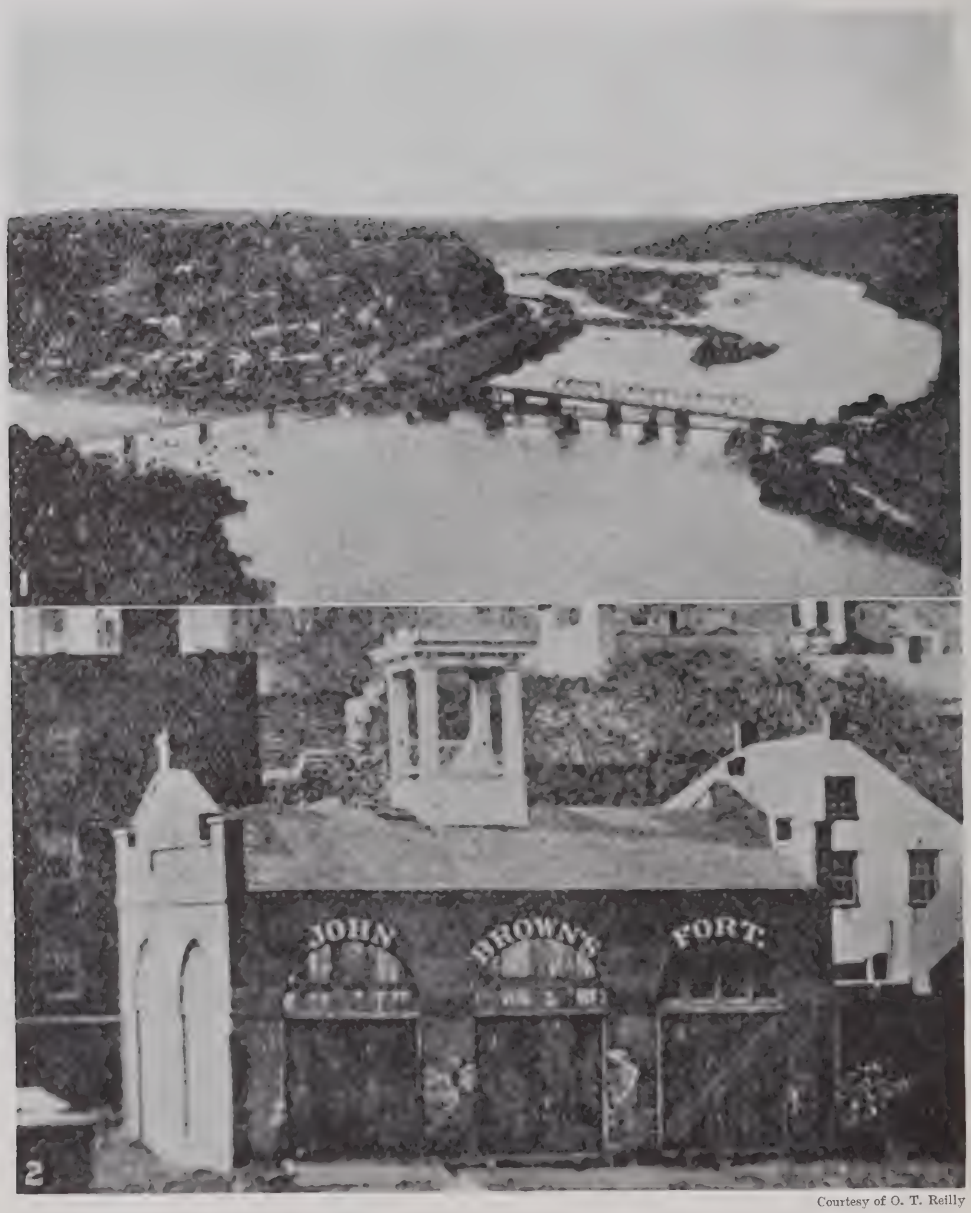
HARPER'S FERRY

Harper's Ferry is at the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers. By reason of this junction of the rivers and the palisaded mountains on the shores, consisting of Maryland Heights, Loudoun Heights, and Bolivar Heights, it is a very picturesque location; so much so that Thomas Jefferson, while President of the United States, said, on one of his visits there, that it was one of the most beautiful spots in the United States. Many other lovers of nature, even among foreigners, have said it was worth going thousands of miles to see — and so it is.

Maryland Heights, situated on the north shore of the Potomac River, has an elevation of 1,060 feet; Loudoun Heights situated on the precipitous south side of the Shenandoah River, claims 954 feet: Bolivar Heights rises abruptly above the town, running from the Potomac River to the Shenandoah River, on the Shenandoah valley or south side, and ranges from 300 to 400 feet in height. On some parts of the Potomac River side it may be a little more.

The town proper lies at the bottom of the hill on the Bolivar Heights side. It consisted in '62 mainly of some houses on the main street or road leading from Charlestown and Hallstown down to the junction of the rivers. Along the Potomac River, there were a few substantial stone structures one of which, an engine house, was occupied by John Brown at the time of his raid. Along the roadway of the Shenandoah River were located a large number of brick buildings, which were in use, preceding the civil war, as United States munition factories, but had been abandoned when the war came on.

General Robert E. Lee, who was well acquainted with the place, and knew all its various qualities of offense and defense, arranged for its capture. It may be recalled that as Colonel Robert E. Lee, of the United States Army, at the time of the John Brown raid, he was one of the officers sent by the United States Government to act as its representative in the aforesaid raid. Nearly every Confederate officer who participated in the beleagurement and surrender of Harper's Ferry knew the old town well. Harper's Ferry as a place



Courtesy of O. T. Reilly

HARPER'S FERRY

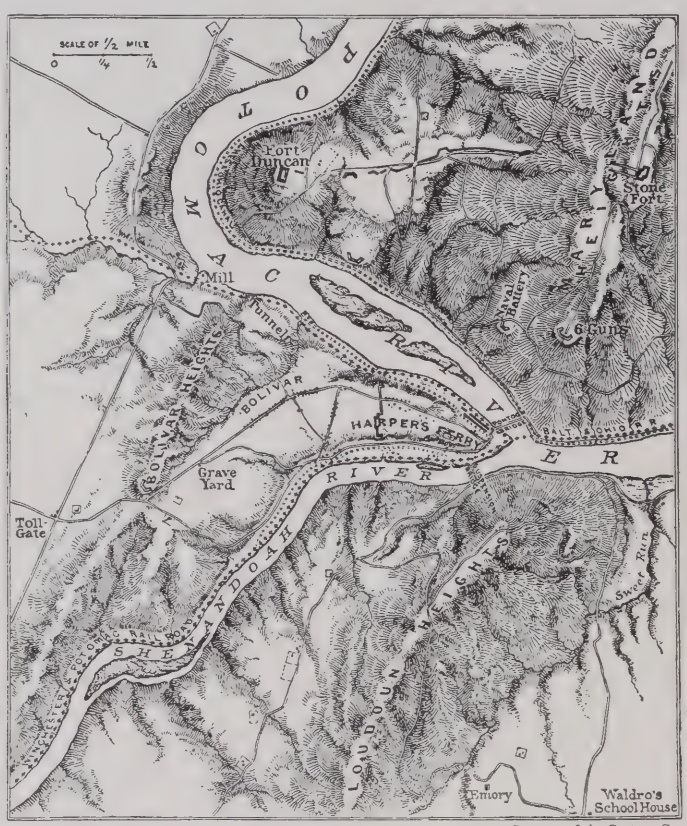
of defense, in the event of war, was of no service whatever, and could not be maintained or defended unless sufficient forces were placed on Maryland and Loudoun Heights to defend it.

At the time of Colonel Miles' occupation of Harper's Ferry, with orders from General Halleck to hold it under all circumstances, Maryland Heights was defended by what was known as a stone fort on the crest of the heights — a structure of very little value in the event of an attack. It fronted toward the eastern slope, while on the western slope was a small redoubt, built to hold heavy navy guns, and a number of entrenchments near the Potomac River, together with a small redoubt known as Fort Duncan, but the latter was not occupied.

Colonel Ford was sent by Colonel Miles to hold Maryland Heights with about two thousand men. Loudoun Heights was not occupied at all by Union men, despite the fact that it was recognized as one of the most conspicuous positions for defense. Bolivar Heights, running toward the Shenandoah Valley, had a line of rifle pits extending from the Potomac River, southward, to the Charlestown or Halltown Road, with a small work for artillery. Down toward the Shenandoah River, on the slope, was an earth work, so called, known as Camp Hill. Colonel Miles was in full command so far as regarded the question of defense. He disposed of his troops as follows: On Maryland Heights, about 2,000 men; on Bolivar Heights about 7,000 men; at Camp Hill about 800 men. From Maryland Heights to Bolivar Heights, moving by the old railroad bridge, now a pontoon bridge, was about two and one-quarter miles to the intersection of the Charlestown Road and three miles to other points on the line. It was a bad line of defense, the troops not being in supporting distance of each other and the line not properly fortified.

According to the plans of General Lee, so well acquainted with all the surroundings of Harper's Ferry, he started General Jackson for that place to take such measures as Jackson deemed expedient to cause its surrender. Jackson marched intending to go by way of Shepherdstown as the most direct route; but he had received word that at Martinsburg, Va., was a small Union force of 3,500 men under command of General Julius White. White had discovered that there was a large menacing force of Confederates liable to come to his immediate front, and had so stated to General Wool, stationed at Baltimore, and then commanding the department in which White was situated. General Wool had signified to him, by dispatches, that if he was approached by too large a Confederate force he had better

retreat to Harper's Ferry. Jackson, man of mystery always, seldom confiding his plans to anyone, probably thought this. He therefore changed his line of march from Boonsboro by taking the road to Williamsport, which was north of White's position, thus holding him in a bag. He forded the Potomac River at Williamsport, cutting off White's garrison at Martinsburg from a retreat northward. White consequently, pursuant to General Wool's instructions, retreated to Harper's Ferry with his force.



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MAP OF THE DEFENSES AND APPROACHES OF HARPER'S FERRY

On the night of the 13th of September, Jackson began the investment of Bolivar Heights, and on the same day, McLaws' division supported by R. H. Anderson's division, reached Maryland Heights. They were opposed by the small force under Colonel Ford, and these troops were only able for a short time to offer resistance to the large forces brought against them, and they abandoned the heights. Colonel Ford stated he had been ordered by Colonel Miles to abandon the heights under the conditions then existing; but Colonel Miles

denied that he had given such an order. From what Colonel Ford said before the Military Court of Inquiry, which was held after the surrender, it appears, according to his statement, that he had an insufficient force to defend the eastern slope as against McLaws and Anderson; and it was immaterial whether he was told to surrender, retreat or fight, for the Confederate divisions would have taken the heights, no matter what he did, with their very superior force as far as numbers were concerned. On September 13th, General Walker, Confederate, had taken a short route crossing the Potomac at a ford, below the heights, and taking possession of Loudoun Heights, sending up some regiments also a battery of artillery hauled by hand. Subsequently, with Jackson in front of Bolivar Heights, McLaws and Anderson on Maryland Heights, and Walker on Loudoun Heights, Harper's Ferry was duly invested and doomed.

Maryland Heights was really the key to the situation, and it was suggested to Colonel Miles that he retreat from Harper's Ferry and concentrate his whole Union command on the crest and slopes. He refused to do this, saying his orders from General Halleck were to hold Harper's Ferry, and he could not and would not understand anything else. On September 14th, Jackson advanced against Bolivar Heights. A sharp engagement ensued, but finally the Union troops withdrew further into the town.

On the evening of September 13th, Colonel Benjamin F. Davis of the 8th New York, and Colonel Davis of the 12th Illinois cavalry, held a council with some of their superior officers and requested to be permitted to leave the town with their regiments and find their way out if such a thing were possible. Their request was denied; but on the 14th, after another consultation, they were given the privilege of endeavoring to find an outlet. Being well mounted, the cavalry moved out by crossing the river, immediately behind Lee's line and they escaped to Hagerstown, Maryland, capturing Longstreet's ammunition train with 97 wagons and 600 Confederates. It was a dashing feat well accomplished.

Upon the morning of the 15th, the Confederates opened with artillery and musketry at early dawn, McLaws' division firing from Maryland Heights, Walker's from Loudoun Heights. This lasted until 10 A. M., when the white flag was hoisted and Harper's Ferry surrendered. Just prior to the close of the engagement Colonel Miles was mortally wounded. There had been a small Council of War, just preceding this, consisting of the main officers, and they had unanimously agreed that surrender was the only hope of saving

the lives of the soldiers, and it was the only proper thing to do — to capitulate, receiving the best terms of surrender possible. By reason of the wounding of Colonel Miles, and the situation of the garrison, General White carried out the proposition that had been made in regard to capitulation. The troops were paroled not to bear arms against the Confederates until duly exchanged.

Among the New York troops that were surrendered were: Companies A and F of the 5th New York Heavy Artillery, 12th New York Militia, 39th New York, 111th New York, 115th New York, 125th New York and the 126th New York. The loss in the defense was 44 killed, 173 wounded. The number of Union prisoners, among whom were the wounded, was 12,520. The property surrendered consisted of 13,000 small arms, 73 pieces of artillery, 100 wagons and a large amount of Quartermaster's stores. It was a sad military episode but was overbalanced by the great battle and victory of the 17th of September.

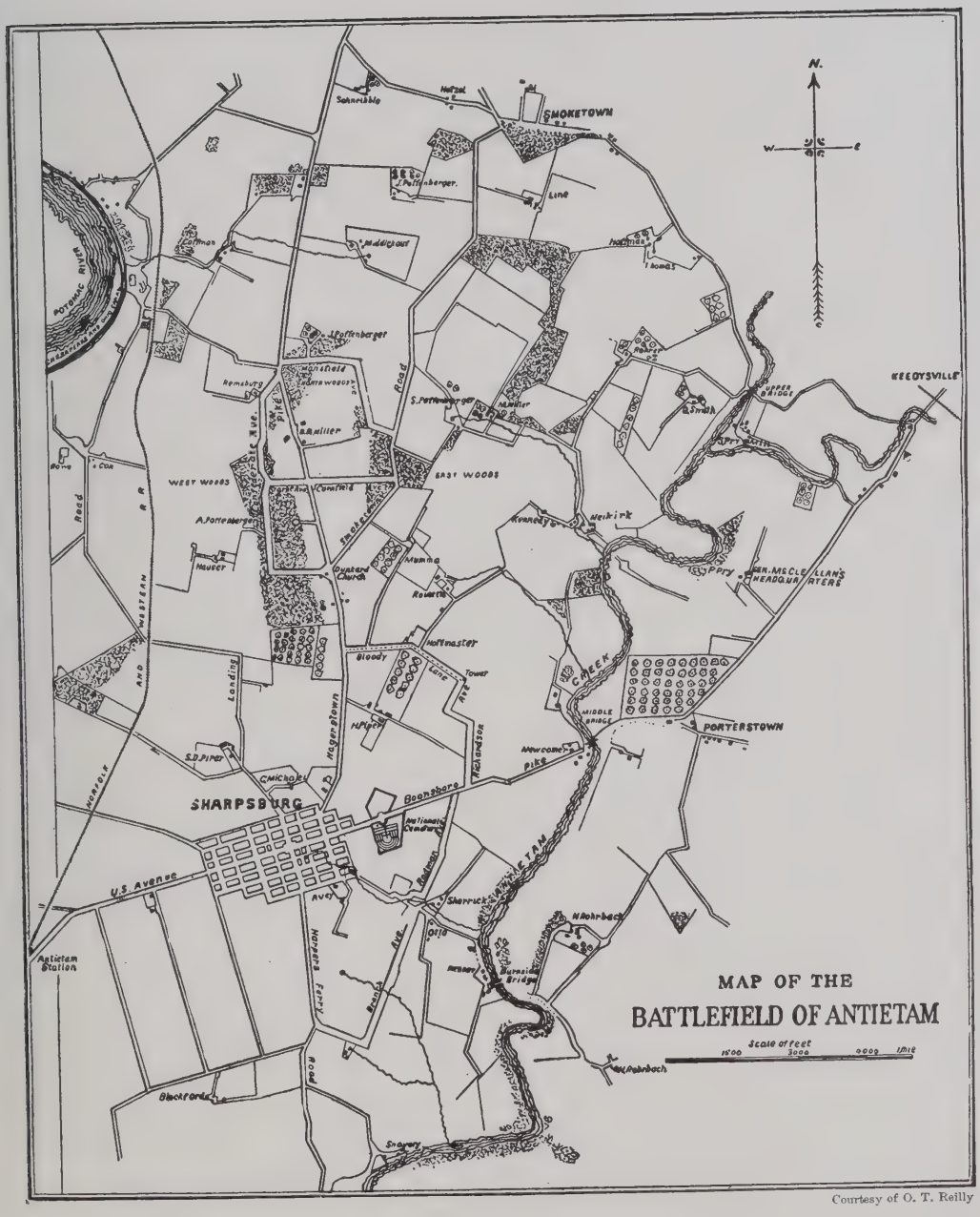
ANTIETAM

The battle of Antietam, or as it was called by the Confederates, the battle of Sharpsburg, was one of the turning points in the war of the rebellion. This was acknowledged by General James Longstreet, who participated in the battle, and who subsequently wrote: "At Sharpsburg was sprung the keystone upon which the Confederate cause rested." In this battle the Northern and Southern troops, under their ablest leaders, fought for supremacy. After fierce conflict and great slaughter on both sides, the Confederates were driven from selected positions and pushed to the rear. Then, while the Union troops were regaining their breath preparing for another onset, the Southern troops admitted defeat by stealing away, leaving the field to the Union troops led by McClellan. It was the end of Lee's Maryland campaign which started with the capture of Harper's Ferry and 12,000 Union troops with their equipment — a sharp battle on South Mountain and complete defeat at Antietam. In this great battle, the State of New York was represented by a large number of her ablest soldiers, whose names were made imperishable by their valor, many making the supreme sacrifice.

Topography at the Time of the Battle

What a beautiful picture this field, soon to be torn by shot and shell, and drenched with the blood of thousands of Northern and Southern troops, presented on the morning of the battle.

From the summit of South Mountain which is part of the Blue


N.
W.
E.
S.
SHOEMAKER
KEEDYSVILLE
SHARPSBURG
PORTERSTOWN
ANTIETAM
MAP OF THE
BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM
Scale of feet
1500
3000
6000
1 Mile
POTOMAC RIVER
WEST WOODS
EAST WOODS
Dunker Church
Bloody Lane
Roulette
Piper
Kennedy's
Middle Bridge
Upper Bridge
Burnside Bridge
Newcomer
Boonsboro
Hagerstown
Harpers Ferry
Sharpsburg
Blackford
Shepherdstown
Antietam Station
Courtesy of O. T. Reilly

Ridge Mountains, a superb panorama spread out before the eyes of the troops. They looked down into a great southern extent of the Cumberland Valley with Boonsboro, Keedysville and Sharpsburg in view. Elk Ridge loomed up between the Rohrersville Road and Sharpsburg Turnpike. Farm after farm, with substantial buildings showing the prosperity of the inhabitants, spread over the entire valley from South Mountain to the Potomac River.

Through the valley ran Antietam Creek, a sluggish stream of

Courtesy of the Century Co.

THE PRY HOUSE, GEN. McCLELLAN'S HEADQUARTERS

varying width — in some places being 50 feet wide and at others stretching to 150 feet. Starting in Pennsylvania and meandering through the country in a picturesque way until it empties its waters into the Potomac, some six miles below Sharpsburg. In many places its banks are steep, while at others it runs evenly with the shores especially near the Burnside Bridge, at the Sharpsburg Bridge and on the north side of Pry's Ford near the Pry house, all of which places were to be the scenes of conflict on that and the succeeding day.

Over this creek were visible four bridges—No. 1 near Keedysville, crossing of the First and Twelfth Corps, leading to Williamsport at a northwestern angle. No. 2 leading to Sharpsburg, about two and one-half miles from No. 1 and running westerly, where Pleasanton's cavalry crossed, supported by battalions of Porter's corps reaching the present National Cemetery Hill. No. 3 the now renowned Burnside Bridge and No. 4 near the mouth of the Antietam. The three bridges first mentioned were the only ones used during the battle—the fourth being too far away.

From McClellan's headquarters, at the Pry house, nearly the whole battlefield was in view. A charming prospect it presented to the Commander-in-Chief that morning in the literal landscape—sloping hills, pretty farm lands, with substantial houses and outbuildings. The view covered nearly all the field of battle or practically speaking from the Dunker Church to the south of Cemetery Hill, the valley at the south end of Elk Ridge and the Burnside Bridge obscured, although after the Ninth corps was in the operation of movement and action the smoke of the battle was seen, while the right wing and the general engagement in the center were plainly observable. The picture is not greatly changed to-day except in the removal of heavy woods which adorned the landscape in September '62.

But the undulating hills and the fine farm lands became a different matter to the Commander-in-Chief on September 16 and September 17, when the warlike preparations of the enemy were calmly surveyed and diagnosed. His reconnaissances discovered that General Lee's line of battle ran along from the bend of the Potomac, northwestwardly from the Dunker Church through the fields, woods and defiles to the Hagerstown Turnpike—hills, stone walls and wooden fences, with ledges of lime stone rock, making a strong defensive line. The famous West Wood was in the section commencing just south of the Dunker Church and running northerly and westerly to open fields and a short belt of woods known as the North Wood. The Smoketown Road,—really a country lane,—terminated at the Dunker Church, running in a southwesterly direction from Smoketown. Eastwardly from the Hagerstown Pike, just beyond the Mumma house and farm, were located the East Woods, a large open orchard as it appeared, and covering both sides of the Smoketown road.

At the westerly junction of the Hagerstown Pike and the Smoketown Road and extending north along the Hagerstown Pike was the famous "Cornfield," rendered memorable in the battle annals. It

comprises about thirty acres and extends north to the then David R. Miller house on the main or Sharpsburg and Hagerstown Pike. North of the D. R. Miller house and following the Hagerstown Turnpike is a body of open land, fissured by the outcroppings of lime stone rocks, on the surface of which were some little patches of wood. The ground rises slightly from the little valley at the Miller house and forms quite a ridge by the time it reaches Joseph Poffenberger's house, where Gen. Hooker bivouacked with Doubleday's division on the night of September 16. A mile from this point, easterly, at John Poffenberger's farm, near Smoketown, the Twelfth corps went into camp about 2 A. M., September 17. The West and East Woods above noted have been cut down since the battle days, and the land is now devoted to farm and grazing purposes.

South and west of the Mumma house were open fields, parts of which had been plowed and seeded, extending to the Hagerstown Pike. All these woods, houses, pikes and roads form a sort of bastion for the Dunker Church, which was the *Point d' Appui* of Hooker and Mansfield, and formed the Confederate left and the Union right wings. Around the church, with its whitewashed walls, centered the main attacks of the whole of two and parts of two Union corps and the defense of Jackson and part of Longstreet's corps.

Slightly southeasterly from the Mumma house, in a valley, and easterly from Bloody Lane, is the Roulette farm looking toward the Pry house and headquarters. From the Mumma house, in a southerly direction, is a line of hills, stretching down into the valley where stands the Roulette house and extending toward Pry's Ford and Newcomer's old mill, on the Antietam Creek. On the top of this hill, and between it and the Hagerstown Turnpike were some small country lanes, for the convenience of the resident farmers, leading into a common country road, somewhat sunken by use, and since become historical under the title of "Bloody Lane." This lane leaves the Hagerstown Pike just south of the Dunker Church, runs easterly for a short distance and then bends abruptly to the south emerging at the bottom of a steep hill on the Sharpsburg and Keedysville Road, between Cemetery Hill and the Sharpsburg bridge near the former location of Newcomer's mill. To the west of the sunken road —"Bloody Lane"—in a valley that extends to the Hagerstown Pike, is the Henry Piper house where charge and counter charge took place. South of the Piper house, on an eminence which rises from the valley, is located the old cemetery of Sharpsburg and the present National Cemetery, which point at the date of the battle presented

Courtesy of O. T. Reilly

D. R. MILLER BUILDINGS NORTHWEST OF THE CORNFIELD

a rocky crag on its eastern elevation. The Sharpsburg and Keedysville Road runs between the two cemeteries. It was along this ridge running from the Roulette house toward the Sharpsburg Road that is defined as the Union and Confederate centers; and embracing the "Bloody Lane" in its sector and which the Union forces under French and Richardson attacked and the Confederate forces under D. H. Hill and R. H. Anderson defended. The observation tower on "Bloody Lane" marks Richardson's position in the battle and near which he was mortally wounded.

From the south of the Sharpsburg Road, extending along the sinuosities of Antietam Creek, on the east side, were located Burnside's troops embracing the Ninth corps and Kanawha division of Cox. Elk Ridge a mountain spur runs down very near to the Burnside Bridge, and the terraces formed a very good situation for artillery, while little defiles afforded protection to infantry troops. The Rohrersville Road comes in just south of the Burnside Bridge; and in the immediate vicinity of the bridge the ground slopes off gently into the creek. The little valleys near Elk Ridge gave shelter to the men of the Ninth corps and hid them from the observation of the enemy. Further south and then southwesterly, the hills rise abruptly on the east bank of Antietam Creek. They were well wooded and gave an opportunity for Rodman's division to cross at Snavely's Ford, three-quarters of a mile below the Burnside Bridge. The Rodman position was the extreme left of the Union line.

On the west side of Antietam Creek, in front of Burnside's position, the hills were steep, high, and heavily wooded—especially at the bridge. The bridge formed an outlet for many small villages and intersecting roads lying to the east and south of Sharpsburg; from which village the bridge is about a mile, southeasterly. The road from Sharpsburg to the bridge skirts the west bank of the creek in almost ravine like shape. A small country road on the west side is a sort of continuation of the Sharpsburg Road, affording a passage to the top of the hill. When once the bridge is crossed and the hill surmounted, the view to the south and west, along the Ninth corps front, is a seeming series of terraces, but really gullies and defiles, until the level land of the village of Sharpsburg is reached.

The Confederate Divisions of Walker, Jones, and finally A. P. Hill defended the heights. Sturgis, Willcox, Rodman and Scammon led the Union divisions in attack. The whole Confederate line from the right to the left wings presented a curve or horse shoe formation with a broad front. It covered a space approximately three and a half miles long.

Battle of Antietam

After the engagement at South Mountain and on the morning of September 15th, Pleasanton's cavalry, Sumner's Second corps, Hooker's First corps and Mansfield's Twelfth corps marched over the mountain, by way of Boonsboro, to Keedysville, near which they bivouacked that afternoon. Burnside's Ninth corps and Sykes' division of the Fifth corps marched by way of the old Sharpsburg Road and encamped near the foot of Elk Ridge. Franklin came down through Crampton Pass with the Sixth corps and finding McLaws'

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A BATTERY GOING INTO ACTION

Confederate division in line of battle moved over toward Rohrersville and remained there, thinking he might receive reinforcements and still have the opportunity of driving McLaws away. While he did not attack McLaws, he caused him to take a long trip which will be referred to later on. No battle took place in Pleasant Valley. After Pleasanton had passed through Keedysville, Richardson's division of the Second corps followed immediately after, pressing the Confederate rear and compelling the Confederates to go to the

west side of Antietam Creek. When General McClellan arrived, he found the enemy in position on the whole of the west side of the creek. Sykes' division of the Fifth corps, in the meantime, had also come up and the General deployed Richardson to the right hand side of the Keedysville and Sharpsburg road and into the open fields, and Sykes to the left. Pettit's Light Battery "B" of New York and Tidball's Second United States Light Battery were brought to the front and placed in position fronting west. The Confederates seeing the disposition of the Union forces commenced to fire heavy pieces of artillery at the Union divisions; to which Pettit and Tidball replied so vigorously that the Confederate fire was compelled to cease.

When General McClellan and his staff reconnoitered the positions of the enemy from the highest hills in that vicinity, at one or two points, they were fired upon by the enemy's batteries. He ordered his staff away and advanced alone in observation. He saw the formation of the Confederate lines and noted that they extended from south to north, partially following the line of Antietam Creek on the north and also on the south of Sharpsburg. Through the hills and valleys, his line of observation extended over declivities, with large fields of green, closed in by stone fences and outcropping rocks here and there,— his field glasses giving him a full survey of the situation from the village of Sharpsburg, along the Hagerstown Pike north to the West Wood, with the Dunker Church standing in white relief in the back ground. Except for the firing of the batteries on both sides, there was no immediate clash of any moment on the 15th.

On the morning of the 16th, several New York batteries were placed in position in front of the Pry house, which was made General McClellan's headquarters. The Pry house is to the north of the main Sharpsburg and Keedysville road, and stands above Antietam Creek, with a road leading to what is known as Pry's Ford, which was very largely used during the contest. The New York batteries placed immediately in front of the Pry house were Wevers', Taft's, Langner's, Von Kleiser's, and Kusserow's under Major Albert Arndt.

The positions of the various corps on the 16th, were — Hooker's First, Sumner's Second and Mansfield's Twelfth, near Keedysville; Burnside near Elk Ridge on its west end, and toward what afterward became known as the Burnside Bridge; Franklin's Sixth corps was at Rohrersville; Couch with his division of the Fourth corps was moving in toward Maryland Heights; Morell's division of the Fifth

corps moved up through Boonsboro toward Sharpsburg, having come up from Frederick. It was not until the 18th that Humphrey's division of the Fifth corps arrived from Frederick with a body of new troops constituting the full Fifth corps. Practically the Fifth corps, on the line of battle, constituted only the two small divisions of Sykes and Morell.

During the 16th, General McClellan was still engaged in reconnoitering and arranging for the disposition of his various corps, in anticipation of the battle, but rather uncertain as to whether he had a sufficient body of men in hand to warrant an attack. Unfortunately, General McClellan did not discover that the only enemy in his front that day, in the early morning hours, were the Confederates led by

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RALLYING BEHIND THE TURNPIKE FENCE

Longstreet and Hill, stretching along the Hagerstown Pike from Sharpsburg to the West Woods, making an impressive appearance by constantly changing positions. In the meantime, the artillery of both sides was firing constantly. Major Arndt who commanded the batteries just in front of the Pry house was mortally wounded and shortly after died. One reason given as to why McClellan did not attack the enemy that morning was that the men were without rations, excessively fatigued and worn out, especially the three corps who had been engaged in the battle of South Mountain.

During the 16th, Generals McClellan and Burnside reconnoitred west of the Union lines, going as far as Snavely's Ford, into the deep woods, for the purpose of discovering whether there were any other means of crossing the Antietam besides the Burnside Bridge.

Rodman's division was detailed with Scammon's brigade of the Kanawha division, to move toward the left, in the direction of Snavely's Ford, while Sturgis' division, with Crook's brigade of the Kanawha division, fronted Burnside Bridge. Willcox's division was in reserve to the rear of Sturgis. Late in the afternoon of the 16th, Hooker's guns off on the extreme right were plainly heard, this being the attack of Seymour's brigade of Meade's division of the First corps in the East Wood.

On the afternoon of the 16th, General McClellan had arranged with General Burnside, who commanded the First and Ninth corps, for the intended battle; and for this purpose had designated Hooker's First corps to cross over Antietam Creek north, keeping toward the extreme right as far as possible to attack the Confederate's left. Hooker started at 2 P. M., moving over the Keedysville Bridge with Meade's and Ricketts' divisions; Doubleday's division proceeding by one of the upper fords, making a short cut to the East Wood, where he joined the rest of the corps.

At this time it might be well to speak of the splendid service rendered by the Signal corps, commanded by Major John Mayer, which was in full operation from the 15th to the 19th of September. Their main headquarters were on the crest of Elk Ridge near Burnside's encampment. The men of the Signal corps located themselves at every point of vantage on the whole field which gave them possibilities of observation. Placing themselves in branches of trees and sometimes even on the very tops of the trees, they were incessantly at work especially during the time of battle. They observed with a great deal of careful attention as to details the movements of the enemy, and communicated them immediately to the commanding officers of the troops engaged. They worked faithfully and their work was worthy of the highest commendation.

While on the morning of the 16th, only Longstreet and Hill confronted McClellan, Jackson's corps began to arrive from Harper's Ferry and were sent over to the West Woods. In the afternoon Walker's division, which had also participated in the Harper's Ferry siege, arrived on the line of the Hagerstown Pike. The arrival and disposition of these troops was what General McClellan evidently noticed as changes in the Confederate alignment, between the afternoon of the 15th and afternoon of the 16th.

McLaws' division, which had confronted Franklin in Pleasant Valley, would have had but a short march to join Longstreet if his rear had not been imperilled by the arrival of Burnside's corps at

the Burnside Bridge. Without this impediment, he would have had only a few miles to go to have joined the main body. As it was, he was compelled to move by the long route, going from Pleasant Valley to Harper's Ferry along the river road, thence to Shepherdstown and then to the field of battle; making a march of not less than twenty miles. By reason of this long march, McLaws' division was unable to enter into the first engagement on the morning of the 17th, and only arrived in time to make an assault on Sedgwick's division,

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DOUBLEDAY'S DIVISION, HOOKER'S CORPS, CROSSING AT THE UPPER FORDS

in conjunction with Walker, in the West Woods near the Dunker Church.

Under the directions received by Hooker he moved the First corps as before stated by the Keedysville Bridge and the upper fords. Hooker was ignorant of the ground to be traversed. He had only the general knowledge that somewhere to the right of Antietam Creek he would be apt to find the enemy's left flank. He had seen the West Woods and the Dunker Church from the Pry House (McClellan's headquarters). Now he was to find them by observation from another quarter. On his march over the ground that afternoon

he had in view the fact that on the high eminences that may be found to the northward he would find an opportunity to discover the enemy's position. Meade's division of Pennsylvania Reserves was leading with skirmishers thrown well out and a small squadron of cavalry also to the front. General McClellan joined General Hooker while on this advance, accompanying him some distance to the westward. However impatient to go, Hooker may have felt when he was first ordered to move forward to the north side of Antietam Creek with the First corps, when he reached the ground over which he was marching, he began to realize the full significance of the movement, and he stated to McClellan that he did not believe the First corps was sufficiently large and strong enough to break the enemy's left flank. He estimated his corps at 12,000, but really it did not contain more than 10,000, if that. He suggested to McClellan that reinforcements be sent to him. It was not long after this interview that the skirmishers of Hooker discovered the enemy; and they became briskly engaged. Seymour's brigade, of Meade's division, was ordered to support the skirmish line and promptly deployed in line of battle, soon becoming closely and heavily engaged. Cooper's artillery was in support, shortly after reinforced by Ransom's battery. Magilton's and Anderson's brigades were ordered up and deployed in line to the support of Seymour's brigade which bravely held its own, and succeeded in driving the enemy back along the line of the East Woods. The fighting was principally by Seymour's brigade. During the night two assaults were made by the Confederates on Seymour's brigade. Both were heroically repulsed.

This commenced the action of the Union right upon the enemy's left. It was very sharply contested. From prisoners it was discovered that the enemy consisted of Hood's division of Confederates. The sequence of the engagement, as proven the next morning, was that Hood was so disabled that he was compelled to withdraw toward the West Woods and simply formed as a reserve there. Thus opened the battle of Antietam, really on the evening of the 16th of September, in the East Woods on the Smoketown Road. Hooker pending the battle of the afternoon of the 16th, and as night was coming on dark and drizzly, moved the remainder of his divisions over to Poffenberger's Ridge and its rocky ledges near the Joseph Poffenberger farm house, with Doubleday's division close to the Hagerstown Pike, Ricketts' division to the left of Doubleday and Meade's division on the left in reserve. There most of the First Corps bivouacked for the night.

The call for reinforcements that had been made by Hooker in his conversation with McClellan was responded to by sending General Mansfield with the Twelfth corps. The Twelfth corps left its encampment at Keedysville about midnight. It reached the John Poffenberger farm near Smoketown about 2 A. M., on the 17th, the position being about a mile from Hooker's left. Here the Twelfth corps lay until called into action at daylight by Hooker's opening guns.

This was the configuration of the ground as presented to the onlooker from the Union lines at Poffenberger's Ridge. The Sharpsburg and Hagerstown Turnpike was on the right of Hooker's line. This turnpike ran from Hagerstown on the north to Sharpsburg in a southern direction. From Poffenberger's Ridge the ground declines toward the D. R. Miller house southward, over fields dotted with outcropping limestone and little patches of wood. Beyond the Miller house, which is in a slight depression, was a corn field rising to quite an elevation before making another gentle decline toward the Dunker Church. At the end of the Smoketown Road, just below the Dunker Church, to the southwestward and then somewhat northwestwardly, extended the West Woods, memorable in the battle.

To the west of the Turnpike were tilled farmlands, with gullies interspersed here and there. (The present Confederate, Corn Field and Stark Avenues did not exist at the time of the battle.) The Nicodemus House, the apex of Sedgwick's charge, was and still is to the west of the Hagerstown Road some distance, and was reached by a country lane from the Hagerstown Pike. The East Woods were located eastward of the Hagerstown Pike, about a quarter to half a mile, and on both sides of the Smoketown Road, quite extensive in the days of "62", but now scarcely recognizable. Off to the extreme west of the Hagerstown Pike was a sharp bend in the Potomac River, the end of the Confederate left, occupied by J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry, dismounted, acting as infantry and supporting artillery.

On the morning of the 17th this was the Confederate position. Their lines ran from the Potomac River through open fields to the West Woods, to the Corn Fields on the east side of the Hagerstown Pike, where they were hidden by the high corn from observation, a portion of their force extending on to the East Woods as a sort of right flank. The general face of the Confederate front was northerly. Stonewall Jackson's corps was located at this front, constituting the Confederate left wing. He had two divisions — Ewell's old division, then under General Lawton, and Jackson's old division, under Gen-

eral J. R. Jones. Jones constituted the infantry left near Stuart's cavalry, the extreme left, with Lawton on his right. Jones' division was partly in open fields, partly in small woods with Winder's and Jones' brigades in front. Taliaferro's and Starke's brigades with Poague's battery were a short distance to the rear. Early's brigade, of Lawton's division, formed on the right of Jones' division — later he went to Stuart's position further to the left. Lawton's old brigade and Trimble's brigade, Winder and Jones, with Hood's in reserve, were formed near the Dunker Church. Part of Jackson's right, with some of his artillery, were in action during Seymour's fight with Hood on

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UNION CHARGE IN CORNFIELD

the evening of the 16th and morning of the 17th. In the morning battle, D. H. Hill sent part of his division to the East Woods, and they fought the First corps in the bloody corn field. Trimble's and Lawton's brigades in their extension on the right of Jackson's line were assumed to connect with D. H. Hill's division which ran along the line of "Bloody Lane," and was located at somewhat of a right angle, making a direct connection between Jackson's men and D. H. Hill, the middle or center division of the Confederate line. But, approximately, it appeared like a common front. This on the morning of the 17th, sunny and soon to become very warm.

With the first flicker of dawn, occurred the crack of rifles between

the contending skirmishers, promptly followed by the roar of artillery from the batteries on both sides. In the terrific affray which soon followed between the contending lines, it would be difficult to decide exactly the position of the various Confederate brigades, as they encountered the Union brigades and divisions. This in some respects is due to the old patronymics and designations, brigades continuing under the names of old commanders although new officers commanded them. And so with divisions as evidenced in the titles of Ewell's and Jackson's old divisions, now commanded by Lawton and Jones, whose brigades continued their names. During the battle just taking place, in a peremptory manner, these brigades were moved from place to place, point to point, for the purpose of reinforcement or attack, constantly appearing in different sections on the line. In consequence of this method it would be somewhat hazardous to follow the Confederate brigades; but it may be fully understood that Jackson's corps covered the whole Confederate left. Hood's division, which had been so severely handled by Seymour, on the night of the 16th, was placed in reserve on the south side of the West Wood, with S. D. Lee's battalion of batteries to the east and in front of the Dunker Church.

The general front of the Confederate position was composed of woods, gullies, crevasses, stone walls, rail fences formed into barricades, lime stone rocks, with very large outcroppings, making excellent defenses and in some cases, almost fortifications. One of the first Union batteries to open fire in response to the Confederate batteries, was that of Captain John A. Reynolds, Battery "L" New York Light Artillery, connected with Doubleday's division. Pursuant to Hooker's order, Doubleday was to open the engagement with Ricketts to his left, advancing as rapidly as possible, while Meade's division was to act as reserve, sending his brigades to the assistance of any of the assaulting troops or to dangerous points. The artillery of Doubleday consisted of the 1st Rhode Island Light Battery, 1st New Hampshire Light Battery, 4th United States Battery B, and 1st New York Light Battery "L," Capt. John A. Reynolds.

Doubleday came down from Poffenberger's Ridge, Gibbon's brigade leading. This was the "Iron Brigade," composed of Western men: the 19th Indiana, the 2nd Wisconsin, the 6th Wisconsin and the 7th Wisconsin. They were splendid riflemen — used to handling guns from childhood. Following Gibbon's was Phelps' brigade together with Patrick's. Hoffman's brigade was left as guard to the batteries — the 95th New York Infantry, Major Edward Pye in command, supporting the rifle guns. This brigade consisted of

the 7th Indiana, 76th New York, Captain J. C. Young, the 56th Pennsylvania and the 95th New York commanded, as already stated, by Major Pye. Up to South Mountain this brigade had been Doubleday's, then Wainwright's, now Hoffman's.

Doubleday's division was divided into two lines — Gibbon and Phelps in advance, Gibbon's right on the east side of the turnpike road, Phelps to his left, while Patrick and Hoffman were supporting lines. Meade was assumed to have some troops on the southwest side of the pike toward the West Woods, but they are not referred to by Doubleday in his official report. As it was, Gibbon hugged the pike, passed through the D. R. Miller farm and orchard, and by the house, up through a small depression below it, into the corn field, to be made famous in a few hours. In the movement, part of Gibbon's right, the 19th Indiana and the 7th Wisconsin, were pushed over into the turnpike westward and were there enfiladed by the Confederate forces in the West Woods. The 6th Wisconsin, which also got part of this enfilading fire, immediately took position behind the fences which covered both sides of the road and kept up a heavy fire through the rails. The left of Gibbon's line kept on up through the corn, closely followed by Phelps' on his left, and in the face of musketry and artillery, in fearful action, they charged the enemy's line through the fields and into the West Woods. The fighting in the cornfield was desperate beyond measure. It seemed to be more than men could bear. It was charge and counter charge running into clubbed muskets. Patrick's brigade, consisting of the 21st New York, Col. William F. Rogers, 23rd New York, Col. Henry C. Hoffman, 35th New York, Col. Newton B. Lord, 80th New York (20th Militia) Lieutenant Colonel Theodore B. Gates, was ordered to the assistance of Gibbon and also got up on the turnpike and became heavily engaged. In the general melee, Phelps' brigade which was to the left of Gibbon, had entered into the battle. It was a little slower in its movements than Gibbon, on account of the difficulties of the ground encountered, but finally was abreast of it and fighting with all the energy to be found in brave men, passing up through the cornfield and almost, if not quite, reaching the crest. Phelps' brigade consisting of all New York Regiments, excepting a battalion of U. S. Sharpshooters, contained the 23rd New York, Lt. Col. John McKie, Jr., 24th New York, Captain John D. O'Brian, 30th New York, Col. William M. Searing, and 84th New York ("14th Brooklyn") Major William H. Debevoise. Hoffman's batteries also added to the din. To emphasize the valorous deeds of the different regiments in this

action is beyond the limits of this narrative. Suffice it to say, all did splendid, heroic work in charge and counter charge, and when finally driven back by the enemy, or withdrawn by orders, Doubleday's division sustained its high reputation for courage and daring. The batteries were well served — its infantry could not be surpassed.

It was during this severe battle on Doubleday's front, having passed through the lines of Ricketts' division of Hooker's corps, that the Third brigade, Col. Goodrich, of Greene's division, 12th corps, came to the assistance of Gibbon's and General Patrick's brigades. General Patrick in his official report notes that the 60th New York and the 78th New York were in the relieving force.

While the battle of Doubleday was proceeding, Ricketts' division, on his left, came into the line from the direction of the East Wood and almost simultaneously entered into the fight. It was fierce and desperate on this front, approaching as it did the same corn field in which Doubleday was engaged, fully under the observation of the enemy's batteries and infantry — and he received the same class of fire that had so seriously broken up Doubleday's lines. While moving toward the front from the direction of the East Woods he was under a terrific fire, but the boys kept on until within sight of the Dunker Church, and very near the crest of the hill in the corn field. They had moved forward through narrow strips of timber, over plowed fields and up to the corn field, while the enemy's shot and shell fell like hail around them, killing and wounding hundreds of the gallant band. Deployed under this severe fire they charged forward as already stated and drove back the enemy in almost wild confusion. Hartsuff's brigade was especially conspicuous. Then came a lull for a few moments, during which the Confederates were reinforced, driving back the Union forces almost to the line where they had first fought. Ricketts held his forces intact, but was finally forced to the rear. There was desperate fighting all along Ricketts' front. There was no cessation in the fighting until the 12th Corps arrived on the field, when Ricketts withdrew his division and went over toward the Hagerstown Pike, on the Poffenberger Ridge, where the balance of the First Corps had gathered after their awful battle and the division was placed under the protection of the batteries. General Hartsuff was severely wounded while examining the ground in his immediate brigade front and Colonel Richard Coulter assumed the command.

Ricketts' division as it went into action was led by Hartsuff's brigade on the first line. This consisted of the 16th Maine, the 12th Mass., the 13th Mass., the 83rd New York (9th New York Militia),

Lt. Col. William Atterbury, 11th Pennsylvania Infantry; Col. William A. Christian's brigade consisting of the 26th New York, Lt. Col. Richard H. Richardson, 94th New York, Lt. Col. Calvin Littlefield, 88th Pennsylvania, 90th Pennsylvania; and Duryea's brigade, consisting of the 97th New York, Major Charles Northrup, 104th New York, Major Lewis C. Skinner, and the 105th New York, Col. Howard Carroll. The artillery of the division consisted of Battery "F," 1st Pa., Captain Matthews and Captain Thompson's Independent Pennsylvania Battery "C," consisting of three inch rifle guns, which did wonderful and conspicuous execution on the enemy on this portion of the field.

Meade's division in the course of the battle was broken up somewhat in the process of assisting Doubleday and Ricketts in emergent parts of the line, but they did splendid service wherever they were placed or required. This division of Meade consisted of the whole Pennsylvania Reserves, generally designated as "Bucktails." The title originally was applied to the first regiment as its designation, but seemed finally to have been adopted by all. Seymour's brigade consisted of the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th and 13th Pennsylvania Reserves. Col. Magilton's brigade consisted of the 3rd, 4th, 7th and 8th Pennsylvania Reserves. Col. Gallagher's brigade consisted of the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th Pennsylvania Reserves. After Col. Gallagher dropped out, Lt.-Col. Anderson succeeded him in command. Ransom's battery of this division made a splendid reputation during the whole of this engagement, in its effective firing, and was highly complimented. Anderson's brigade, with the assistance of Ransom's battery, reached the crest of the ridge in the corn field, but it, like all the rest of the First Corps brigades, finally rejoined the scattered remnants of the corps on Poffenberger Ridge.

In the meantime, toward the close of the action, General Hooker had been severely wounded, but remained on the field until completely exhausted and ready to fall from his horse. He was finally induced to go to the rear, when General Meade assumed command of the Corps. Meade reported that evening that about 7,000 First Corps men were on Poffenberger Ridge. Gen. Hooker's escort during the battle consisted of companies "I" and "K," 2d N. Y. Cavalry, under Captain John E. Naylor.

As previously stated, Mansfield's Twelfth corps started from its camp near Smoketown, about a mile and a half in the rear of Hooker's position, where it had bivouacked on the morning of the 17th. It started at the first sound of battle. As far as any information has ever

been vouchsafed, no communication of any kind was had from Hooker in regard to the movements of the Twelfth corps, which had been sent to him as a reinforcement. The First corps had gone into action without any concerted movement established between it and the Twelfth corps.

The Twelfth corps which, as heretofore stated, started at the sound of the first guns, endeavored to assist the First corps throughout the fight, in its own relationship. In moving to the southwest, Williams' division took the lead, Crawford's brigade at the head of the column. All the Twelfth corps troops were closed in mass, company front.

Crawford's brigade consisted of the Forty-sixth Pennsylvania, Tenth Maine, Fifth Connecticut (detached and not in action), Twenty-eighth New York, Captain W. H. H. Mapes, One Hundred and Twenty-fourth Pennsylvania, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania, and the One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, three new regiments recruited in August, one month previously. It may be stated here that each one of the brigades of the Twelfth corps left one of its regiments in the bivouac of the corps for the purpose of guarding the trains, thus decreasing its numbers very greatly.

With Crawford leading, the divisions moved forward, through dense woods, plowed fields and corn fields very nearly parallel to the Smoketown Road. As they moved forward, they commenced action with the Confederate skirmishers of Hood, Lawton, Colquitt, Ripley and McRae, near the East Woods. At this point the division deployed and advanced into line of action. Also, about this time, word was brought to General Mansfield that all of Hooker's troops were engaged, with no reserves, and were hard pressed by the enemy. Mansfield advanced as hastily as circumstances would permit. His advance was hindered somewhat by reason of having new troops in his foremost brigades. But it is an established fact that these new troops proved resolute in action and acquitted themselves with as much courage as the old veterans when once in the contest. It was while deploying his troops, looking toward the position of Ricketts' division of the First corps, that General Mansfield was mortally wounded, dying that afternoon at 4 o'clock at the house of George Lines on the Smoketown Road.

Crawford deployed to the right of Williams' line, and Gordon's brigade to his left. Gordon's brigade consisted of the Third Wisconsin, the Second Massachusetts, the Twenty-seventh Indiana, the One Hundred and Seventh New York, Colonel R. B. Van Valkenburgh (at that time a Congressman from New York State), two

companies of Pennsylvania Zouaves and the Thirteenth New Jersey. They charged forward from the East Woods toward the Corn Field. During this time Greene's division was heading to the left of Williams' division, with his right brigade touching Gordon's, practically to the south of the Smoketown Road, Williams keeping more to the north. Both divisions after deployment were soon in line of battle, under severe firing, and replying with vigor to the enemy's musketry and artillery.

Greene's right rested on the south side of the Smoketown Road in

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RUINS OF MUMMA HOUSE AND BARNS, DESTROYED BY FIRE

his approach toward the Dunker Church, his left passing through to the south of Mumma's burning house. Greene in his advance into the West Woods only had two brigades — the First brigade under Tyndale, who was wounded and succeeded by Major Orrin J. Crane, consisted of the Fifth, Seventh and Twenty-ninth Ohio (detached), the Sixty-sixth Ohio and the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania; the Second brigade, Stainrook's (Stainrook being disabled the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel James C. Lane, 102d New York), consisted of the Third Maryland, the 109th Pennsylvania (detached), the One

Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania and the One Hundred and Second New York, Lieutenant Colonel James C. Lane and Captain Daniel M. Elmore. The Third brigade had been sent to the assistance of Doubleday's brigades. The artillery supporting the Twelfth corps was the Fourth Light Battery of Maine, the Sixth Light Battery of Maine, Battery "M" First New York Light Artillery, Captain George W. Cothran, Tenth New York Light Artillery, Captain John T. Bruen, Pennsylvania "E" and "F," and Battery "F" 4th United States.

While in the movement approaching the direction of the Dunker Church and the D. R. Miller house, General Williams, who had taken command of the Twelfth corps, after General Mansfield was wounded, was appealed to by General Gibbon of the First corps, then on the Hagerstown Pike, for immediate help. Williams sent Colonel Goodrich's brigade of Greene's division forward to assist Gibbon and Patrick, and they immediately went into action. The brigade of Colonel Goodrich consisted of the Sixtieth New York, Lieutenant Colonel Charles R. Brundage, Seventy-eighth New York, Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Austin, and Captain Henry H. Stagg, Third Delaware and the Purnell Legion of Maryland. Congressman Crane happened to be on the battlefield as a civilian. He attached himself to General Gordon's staff and during the engagement rendered valuable aid, as stated in General Gordon's report.

Crawford's and Gordon's brigades went over the Corn Field driving the enemy before them, across the Hagerstown Pike and into the West Woods, charging upon the enemy behind their barricades and rocky ravines, but did not remain there long, as the enemy was strongly reinforced and they fell back to the Hagerstown Pike. General Williams, now commanding the Twelfth corps, says that the Twelfth corps was up and in action between 6:30 and 7 A. M., that none of the men had had an opportunity to prepare any food for breakfast, they had but little sleep, and under these conditions they went into battle under terrific fire of artillery and musketry. All the right regiments were engaged — sometimes at close quarters — twenty, thirty and forty yards apart. Greene who had fought his way to the Mumma house and beyond, ascended the slope of the hill to the south of the Corn Field, meeting the enemy in splendid line directly in front of the Dunker Church and southward, and engaged them fiercely, finally charging about 8 o'clock and entering the West Woods, where he established a line which he kept for several hours. Fighting along this front was almost a personal encounter every-

where. When Greene's two brigades charged over the Hagerstown Pike the dead of the enemy lay in windrows along his line. How long Greene held the West Woods is uncertain. In his official report he says it was 1:30 o'clock P. M. before he was compelled to retire for want of ammunition and the largely increased number of the advancing enemy. As Franklin's corps is officially reported to have gone into action at this same point by noon, there is a discrepancy as to time. At all events, until 9:30 A. M., and after, the Twelfth corps held the Hagerstown Pike and West Woods at the front and presented an unbroken line to the enemy. General Crawford had taken command of the First division, Twelfth corps, and was wounded. Colonel Ruger then assumed the command.

This was the situation on the right of the line when General Sumner's troops, consisting of Sedgwick's division, Second corps, crossed Antietam Creek and passing over at Pry's Ford advanced into the East Woods, where he personally arranged the three brigades of Sedgwick's division. Gorman's brigade on the first line, Dana's brigade on the second line and Howard's brigade on the third line, each brigade being closed in mass. The formation was about 1,500 feet from the Hagerstown Pike, eastward. Sedgwick started his column about 9 o'clock, General Sumner in person accompanying him. His escort consisted of companies "D" and "K," 6th N. Y. Cavalry, commanded by Captain Henry W. Lyon and Captain Riley Johnson, respectively.

Gorman's brigade consisted of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, the First Minnesota, the Thirty-fourth New York, Colonel James A. Suiter, Eighty-second New York (2d Militia), Colonel Henry W. Hudson and two companies of Massachusetts and Minnesota sharpshooters. Dana's brigade consisted of the Nineteenth Massachusetts, Twentieth Massachusetts, Seventh Michigan, Forty-second New York (Tammany), commanded by Lieutenant Colonel George N. Bomford and Major James E. Mallon, and the Fifty-ninth New York, Colonel William L. Tidball. Howard's brigade consisted of the Sixty-ninth, Seventy-first, Seventy-second and One Hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania, known as the "Philadelphia Brigade." The artillery consisted of the First Rhode Island Battery "A," Tompkins', and the First United States Battery "I," Woodruff's.

The brigades were separated from each other at from sixty to seventy paces. As they moved over the Corn Field, passing the Hagerstown Pike, the enemy's batteries opened upon them. Sedgwick's brigades broke their formation into lines of battle as speedily

as possible and moved forward at a quick step, with the left brigade practically in the West Woods although part of it was on open ground. The movement was in somewhat of a westerly line, while the trend of the Confederate line was northwesterly. So that almost from the start there was an enfilading fire upon the line of Sedgwick. Still they pressed forward until they reached a little country lane fronting the Nicodemus house, really the apex of the advance on this portion of the line. It was while meeting the resisting fire of the Confederate line of Jackson, through which the Sedgwick division was hewing its way to the front, that there were sudden signs of confusion on the left of the Union line. From the heavy musketry it was evident that something more than the fire Jackson's men had offered existed there, and this, with the exultant "Hi Yi", the battle cry of the Southern men, which was heard, made it evident that reinforcements had arrived on the Confederate side. Soon large masses of men were seen approaching through the woods. The enemy's batteries were playing with awful force on Sedgwick's lines, while the musketry in the woods and in the open fields became appalling. The left of Sedgwick's line was broken and fell back in disorganized companies and regiments. The officers made every effort to realign the forces and to check the men; but the drive of the Confederates had been so sudden and was so overwhelming that it was impossible to make the men rally. It was a mass uncontrollable; and the Confederates pressed their advantage to the utmost.

Gorman's brigade, which occupied the right of the line near the Nicodemus house, also felt its effect. Pandemonium reigned in a short time. There was confusion of the worst sort, but in the midst of this terrific disaster some of the regiments retained their organization in tolerable shape and finally succeeded in presenting a sufficiently fair battle line to prevent the enemy from obtaining a complete triumph. The majority of the brigades went back to the Hagerstown Pike and north to the Poffenberger Ridge, where they joined the First corps battalions under the artillery guns. Others came back on the Hagerstown Pike, making for the East Woods through the lines of the Twelfth corps, and took refuge wherever they found lines of battle facing the enemy. Sumner appealed for help, and Goodrich's brigade of the Twelfth corps started forward to recover the ground lost by Sedgwick's division; but the firing of the enemy was so heavy, from both front and flank, that they were glad to retire to the Hagerstown Road and hold that ground firmly. Colonel Goodrich, 60th New York, was mortally wounded in this attack.

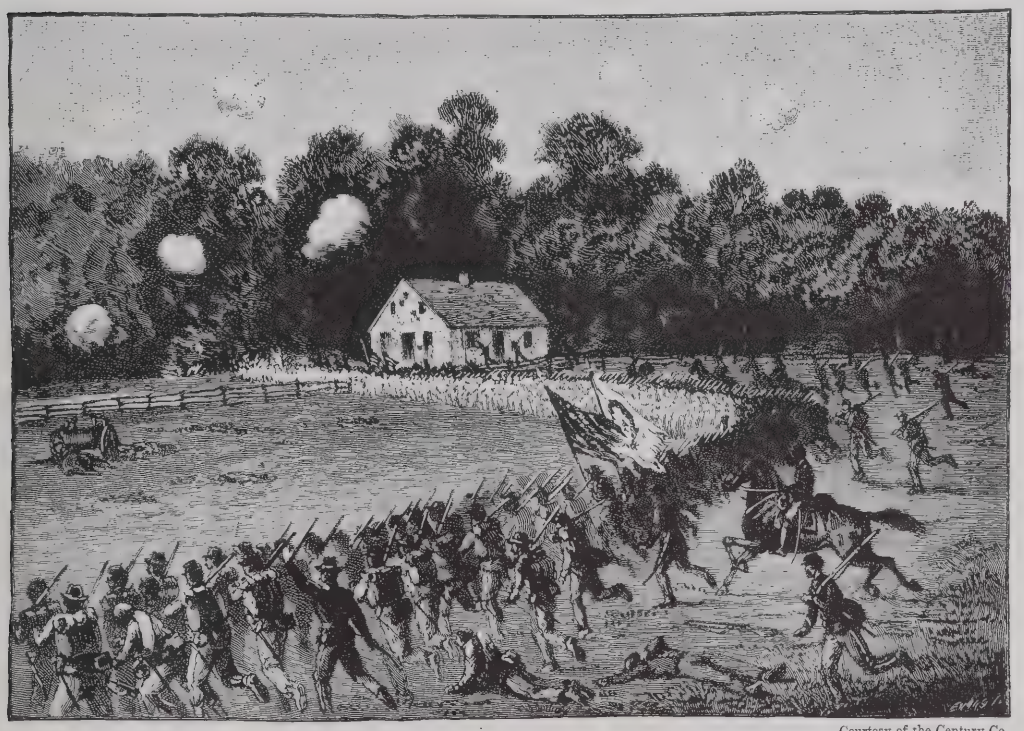
Scarcely an hour was consumed from the time of Sedgwick's advance until the culmination of the movement in disaster. As now known, it was the sudden irruption of McLaws' division, freshly arrived from Harper's Ferry, and Walker's division, which had also participated in the Harper's Ferry fight, reinforcing Jackson at the critical moment that turned the tide. General Sedgwick was badly wounded and forced to leave the field. General Howard assumed command of the division. General Dana was also wounded. Colonels Owen and Baxter took command of Howard's brigade. When General Dana was wounded, Colonel Norman Hall assumed command of that brigade. Although the enemy made some movements that looked like impending attacks on the Union lines, between the hours of 10 and 12, they really did very little to make themselves offensively felt or effective on this portion of the front.

It was about noon time when the head of General Franklin's Sixth corps arrived at the East Woods, having marched from Rohrersville by way of Keedysville. Smith's division was the first to reach the ground. This was composed of General Winfield S. Hancock's brigade, consisting of the Sixth Maine, Forty-third New York, Major John Wilson, Forty-ninth Pennsylvania, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh Pennsylvania and Fifth Wisconsin. General W. T. H. Brooks' brigade, consisting of the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Vermont. Colonel William H. Irwin's brigade, consisting of the Seventh Maine, Twentieth New York, Colonel Ernest Van Vegesack, Thirty-third New York, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph W. Corning, Forty-ninth New York, Lieutenant Colonel William C. Alberger, who was wounded, and succeeded by Major George W. Johnson, and the Seventy-seventh New York, Captain Nathan S. Babcock. The artillery consisted of Battery "B" Maryland Light, New York First Battery Light, Captain Andrew Cowan, and Fifth United States Battery "F". The batteries were under the general command of Captain Romeyn B. Ayres, U. S. A.

As Smith's division moved toward the field of action, Hancock formed on the right in support of Sumner's batteries, really having to fight to save them, as the enemy was distinctively aggressive at that immediate front. General Brooks was also sent over to the right of Sumner's line, but was only there a short time, being ordered to the reinforcement of General French, then engaged near "Bloody Lane".

Irwin's brigade was between Hancock's and Brooks', almost fronting the Dunker Church, with a little southwest inclination. He charged directly toward the church and the West Woods, meeting the

enemy almost in a full return charge, and clashed so heavily that they were almost face to face. Irwin's staunch brigade drove the enemy in, though with severe loss, and held the ground firmly until the next day. While engaged in the action, Irwin was annoyed by sharpshooters from the direction of the Piper house and "Bloody Lane". He detached the Seventh Maine to drive them from that locality. To do this the Seventh Maine was compelled to make quite a march to the south and across the front of Brooks' and a part of the Second



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CHARGE OF IRWIN'S BRIGADE, SIXTH CORPS

corps skirmish line; and when they reached the Piper barn, they were met by a murderous fire, the Confederates rising from all classes of positions and almost surrounding them. The Seventh Maine finally battled its way back to rejoin the brigade, meeting with a heavy loss.

Slocum's division of Franklin's corps came on the ground soon after noon. Its general position was facing toward the Dunker Church. Newton's and Torbert's brigades were to carry the West Woods in the vicinity of the church, while Bartlett's brigade was sent farther to the right or north. Soon after Slocum had prepared his

line of attack he received an order not to move any further in advance. His men lay under heavy artillery fire, practically remaining in that position for nearly forty hours.

Slocum's artillery consisted of Maryland Light Battery "A", Massachusetts Light Battery "A", New Jersey Light Battery "A", and Battery "D", Second United States, under general command of Captain Emory Upton, U. S. A. Colonel Bartlett's brigade consisted of the Fifth Maine, Sixteenth New York, Lieutenant Colonel Joel J. Seaver, Twenty-seventh New York, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander D. Adams, One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, Colonel Richard Franchot, and the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania. General Newton's brigade consisted of the Eighteenth New York, Lieutenant Colonel George R. Myers, the Thirty-first New York, Lieutenant Colonel Francis E. Pinto, Thirty-second New York, Colonel Roderick Matheson (mortally wounded), and Major George F. Lemon (mortally wounded), and the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania. Torbert's brigade consisted of the First, Second, Third and Fourth New Jersey Regiments.

As the Union troops lay on the right at this time, it was the First corps and the shattered remnants of Sedgwick's division together with a small portion of Williams' division of the Twelfth corps, on Poffenberger's Ridge, with a line running along toward the East Woods, where Greene's division was intact and acting as a reserve to Franklin's corps, occupying the places just designated. This was the relative position of all the troops until the shadows of evening closed down; with the exception of some movements on the part of the Confederates, in the late afternoon, showing a design of attack by infantry. These designs were frustrated by the heavy discharge of artillery from the Poffenberger Ridge, as well as the batteries of the Sixth corps.

It is well to state here that when Franklin entered the battle with Smith's division he intended to use his whole corps in a frontal attack, but was prevented from doing so by the appearance of General Sumner, senior officer, on that part of the field. Sumner gave a peremptory negative; he had already signaled to McClellan that the right was broken up and disorganized. By a little observation and inquiry he would have been convinced to the contrary. The First corps was on Poffenberger Ridge in support of its batteries, as were also all the regiments of Sedgwick's division, which had escaped almost annihilation. All were ready for action although very tired men. Nearly the whole of the Twelfth corps was in the East Woods, prepared for

either aggressive or defensive action, being held in reserve by Franklin near the front line.

McClellan rode over from his headquarters after the signals made by Sumner; and finding that General had a conversation with him, the finality of which was that he came to the conclusion that it was not prudent to further attack that part of the line. The rest of the afternoon was devoted to occasional booming of artillery and skirmish firing by outlying videttes until sundown, when the destructive battle of the right wing was concluded under the night's shadows by skirmishing.

The Center

A little after nine o'clock A. M., General French's division of the Second corps, who had followed Sedgwick's division over the fords of Antietam Creek, came into line near the East Woods, having moved by the flank and then into line of battle, facing to the west, prepared for action. The general line of his advance was to the south of the Mumma burning house and facing the Roulette house, barns and outbuildings. His formation was observed by General D. H. Hill, Confederate Commander in his front, who remarked that it was one of the most beautiful military sights he had ever seen. General French's troops moved as though they were on dress parade. French at this time was on the lower ground which ascends slightly from Antietam Creek toward the higher hills around the Mumma house northwestwardly. On the plateau below, the Confederates fought around the Roulette house front with desperation. The firing of the two lines was murderous, but French's men kept advancing, driving the enemy up the slope of the hill to "Bloody Lane". This lane, which at that time was some three or four feet deep, was an old country road in use for long, continuous years, and had been worn down by the traffic of the farmers. In this lane the Confederates who had been driven back from the lower plateau took refuge. It was admirably adapted to sweeping all oncoming troops advancing from the Roulette house, in the ascension of the hill or slope. Although the Confederate firing was bewildering and frightfully destructive, amid yells, cries and hurrahs, the Union troops advanced to the "Bloody Lane", and finally to the corn fields to the westward. They were nearly four and one-half hours facing fearfully destructive musketry firing, yet French held the position. The Confederates attempted several times to flank French, and although under fearful fire by his quick changes of regiments to exigent positions he prevented the flanking. Then the Confederates strove to break his

center, but unavailingly and with horrible slaughter to themselves. During this fight upon the "Bloody Lane" sector, the division took nearly 300 prisoners. At one emergent period, General Richardson sent a brigade from his division to help on French's flank. The firing was galling in the extreme on the part of the Union troops. Their ammunition ran out and the men supplied themselves by taking cartridges from the boxes of their dead or wounded comrades. Still they held the line. When the "Bloody Lane" was finally controlled

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FRENCH'S AND RICHARDSON'S DIVISIONS ADVANCING ON THE BLOODY LANE

by the Union forces, it was found to be filled with Confederate dead, three and four deep. It received its name from this encounter with Sumner's corps, being written throughout its length in the flowing blood of the slain.

The formation of French in going into the action, was with General Max Weber's brigade leading, in the immediate front of the Roulette house. This brigade consisted of the First Delaware, Fifth

Maryland, Fourth New York Infantry, Lieutenant Colonel John D. McGregor. Morris's brigade consisted of the Fourteenth Connecticut, One Hundred and Eighth New York, Colonel Oliver H. Palmer, and the One Hundred and Thirtieth Pennsylvania, being composed of entirely new troops that had scarcely become acquainted with the use of the muskets they handled; but they did splendid and meritorious service in reinforcing different portions of the line when called upon to assist other brigades. General Kimball's brigade consisted of the Fourteenth Indiana, Eighth Ohio, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh Pennsylvania, and Seventh West Virginia.

The artillery of the division consisted of the First New York Light Battery "G", Captain John D. Frank, First Rhode Island Light Battery "B", and First Rhode Island Light Battery "G". The fighting of these three brigades, on this front, was among the most meritorious performances of any portion of the field.

French's movement to the front was predicated upon the proposition that he was to connect with the left of Greene's division; Greene's division at that time being located in the southeast end of the West Woods; but this connection never took place, French's advance being too far south. In bringing his right flank over toward the angle of "Bloody Lane", in its direction toward the Hagerstown Pike, it left a long gap between the two divisions which the enemy took advantage of in making flank movements. This space between French and Greene was covered by Union batteries, with very slight infantry support. This left both the left flank of Greene in the West Woods and French's right flank in his forward movement, in very hazardous positions; but the Union batteries were successful in resisting the various charges which were intended to break in between the flanks of French and Greene.

It was about 9:30 A. M., after having followed French's division, that General Richardson's division of the Second corps arrived on the ground, and after French had already become fully engaged. He formed in the ravine, to the left and south of the Roulette house, with General Meagher's Irish brigade as his right and on French's left flank. Next to Meagher and on his left, was Colonel John R. Brooke's brigade with General Caldwell's brigade in reserve.

The Irish brigade advanced under a fearfully destructive fire, going up the slope of the hill which led to the sunken road, driving in the enemy, reaching the crest of the hill, and finally the sunken road (now called the "Bloody Lane"). In reaching the crest of the hill they overlooked the Piper house, down in a low valley, between

"Bloody Lane" and the Hagerstown Pike. The fighting of the Irish brigade and Brooke's brigade was one of the most valorous and terrifying on this field of battle. The enemy in the sunken road had a long sweep, with a deadly fire of musketry and artillery, on the advancing columns, but despite their tremendous loss, the Union brigades pressed forward until they had occupied the lines already noticed. The number of dead and wounded on both the Union and the Confederate lines was appalling. It will be noted in the list of dead and wounded. When the ammunition of the Irish brigade was exhausted, so determined were the men of this brigade not to be driven from the position they had attained that they fixed bayonets, to resist the enemy to the last ditch.

At this point of desperation, Caldwell's brigade, which had been kept in reserve, came to the relief of General Meagher. Then one of the most difficult manoeuvres to be made on a battle field, and especially under destructive fire, was executed by the Irish brigade, retiring by companies to the rear, while Caldwell's brigade advanced to the Irish brigade position by breaking companies to the front. Caldwell arrived just in the nick of time, fiercely fighting his way into position at "Bloody Lane," in what may be considered shockingly close action. The two contending forces, at times, were scarcely thirty paces apart and at other times almost face to face. But Caldwell held "Bloody Lane." Finally they drove the enemy beyond that point, capturing the ground above the Piper house in the valley. Finding this a really untenable position, they finally withdrew to the higher ground. In the movements of Caldwell's brigade, Colonel Barlow who commanded the Sixty-first and Sixty-fourth New York, by changing his front to the right very suddenly and charging upon "Bloody Lane" covered it so completely on that end that he captured over three hundred prisoners. Colonel Barlow was seriously wounded during this action and Lieutenant Colonel Nelson A. Miles commanded the two regiments during the remainder of the battle.

When General Meagher's brigade had replenished their cartridge boxes they returned to the line of battle. General Meagher, in the meantime, during the battle, had his horse struck by a cannon ball. In the fall of the horse, the rider was carried with him and disabled, so that Colonel John Burke was compelled to assume command of the brigade. Despite the efficient fire of the enemy's infantry and their direct as well as enfilading fire of artillery the whole center held its own until evening, although the fighting had been awful and the carnage fearful. General Richardson, division commander, was mor-

tally wounded, and General Hancock was taken from the 6th corps and ordered to the division command.

Meagher's Irish brigade consisted of the Sixty-ninth New York, Lieutenant Colonel James Kelly (wounded) and Major James C. Cavanagh, Twenty-ninth Massachusetts, Sixty-third New York, Colonel John Burke, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Fowler (wounded), Major Richard C. Bentley (wounded) and Captain Joseph O'Neil, Eighty-eighth New York, Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Kelly. Brooke's brigade consisted of the Second Delaware, Fifty-second New York, Colonel Paul Frank, Fifty-seventh New York, Lieutenant Colonel Philip J. Parisen, killed, succeeded by Major Alford B. Chapman,

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THE BLOODY LANE

Sixty-sixth New York, Captain Julius Wehle and Lieutenant Colonel James H. Bull and the Fifty-third Pennsylvania. Caldwell's brigade was composed of the Fifth New Hampshire, the Seventh New York, Captain Charles Brestel, Sixty-first and Sixty-fourth New York, Colonel Francis C. Barlow (wounded) and Lieutenant Colonel Nelson A. Miles, and the Eighty-first Pennsylvania. The artillery consisted of the First New York Light Battery "B," Captain Rufus D. Pettit, and Fourth United States Batteries "A" and "C."

Before the close of the fight on the center, General W. T. H. Brooks' brigade, from the Sixth corps, had come to the right of French's division and remained there, in protection to French's right flank, until the close of the battle.

The Confederate forces of D. H. Hill on the immediate front of the center, were Rodes' and G. B. Anderson's brigades at the Roulette house while, during the conflict, General R. H. Anderson's division of Longstreet's corps came in as reinforcement. When General R. H. Anderson was wounded, General Roger A. Pryor assumed command. In the action at the Roulette house, meeting the movement of French, Rodes' brigade was driven back in confusion. General G. B. Anderson was mortally wounded and his brigade totally routed in the fight around "Bloody Lane." In fact Hill at this point of contact suffered fearfully. If some portions of the Union troops on the right had advanced at this period of the conflict, in reinforcement of French

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CONFEDERATE DEAD IN THE BLOODY LANE

and Richardson, the entire center of the Confederates would have been broken and Lee's whole army would have been driven into the Potomac; but the misfortunes of the Confederates were not known to the General commanding the Union Army. In consequence of his desire not to use his reserves except in the event of a reverse, no movements were made to help the center. The Second corps held its ground tenaciously — victoriously.

The Ninth Corps — Burnside Left Wing

As observed in the original advance, the formations of the 15th and 16th of September, Burnside's Ninth corps moved to the left

of the Boonsboro and Sharpsburg Road, making the westerly slope of Elk Ridge, which here runs down in terraces, to the now famed Burnside Bridge over Antietam Creek. There they lay distributed along the ridge on the morning of the seventeenth.

The order of formation of battle for the Ninth corps on the morning of the 17th, was for Sturgis' division to attack at the bridge. Crook's Kanawha brigade arrived ahead of Sturgis and threw out skirmishers toward the creek. Sturgis was to the east, called the right front and Rodman further down the creek, was the left front, in position, Willcox in reserve.

The Confederates opened their batteries immediately after daylight and were sharply replied to by the Union batteries. Burnside ordered all his divisions to be in readiness to cross the creek to carry the opposite heights as early as seven A. M., and to be in readiness for whatever orders that might be received from McClellan's headquarters. He pushed all his command forward, in close connection, by divisions. The Union batteries were placed in position, to cover the movements to be made, and especially so for the endeavor to cross the bridge. These batteries were Benjamin's, McMullen's, Durell's, Clark's, Muhlenberg's, and Cook's, with a part of Simmonds' Kanawha battery.

While Sturgis and Rodman were to be the immediate attacking force, Willcox's division was held as a reserve as already stated. It should also be especially remembered at this point that the Ninth corps, in its movement, was in readiness for active operations at seven o'clock in the morning, ready for any advance that might be ordered. But here comes a complexity of discordant differences between the main headquarters of the Union Army and General Burnside, who commanded the left wing of the army, and General Cox who had been placed in command of the Ninth corps by General Burnside. General Burnside considered that he commanded two corps, the First and Ninth corps, although the First corps had been ordered away to the right.

As before stated the Ninth corps was ready for movement at an early hour. General Cox in his original report of the battle says he received his first order to advance about nine o'clock. General Burnside says, in his official report, that the order to advance was not received until ten o'clock. In his first official report of the battle, without revision, General McClellan says that this order was not delivered to General Burnside until ten o'clock. In after days, when there was an acrimonious dispute in regard to the time of the delivery

of the order, General McClellan, in his revised report, makes the hour of delivery nine A. M. According to General Cox, in his after reminiscences of the battle, he states that he believes his report of nine o'clock in the morning was an error, and that General Burnside, who was a very exacting officer and very obedient to orders, was correct in saying ten o'clock. However, this narrative is not one of criticism between commanding officers and the facts are merely given as recorded. As soon as orders from headquarters were received, the Eleventh Connecticut regiment of Rodman's division was selected to make the attempt to cross the bridge, and while making a most determined effort failed to accomplish its purpose, its Colonel, Henry W. Kingsbury being killed.

At this juncture it might be well to explain the topography of the surroundings of the bridge. On the west side of Elk Ridge, which gradually comes down in terraces to Antietam Creek so that it almost reaches the water, is a small open plain. There the Antietam flows slowly and sullenly along. At the bridge proper, two roadways come in from the direction of Rohrersville and Pleasant Valley. This is on the east side of the creek. The bridge at the time of the battle was a heavy, strong stone structure consisting of three arches resting on the creek bottom, with parapets on the upper sides. The bridge was about 100 feet long and about 12 feet wide. Upon the western side of the bridge, after crossing, the road turns sharply to the right, then swiftly to the left, along an open hollow or ravine, which winds its way along to the village of Sharpsburg. Immediately in front of the bridge on the western side, is a high hill. Probably, at one time in the ancient centuries, part of Elk Ridge's geological formation was broken by the flow of waters in the Glacial period to give right of way to Antietam Creek. Consequently, at the bridge, the heights rise to the right and left of the water. The country is rolling in this immediate vicinity, and the farm lands on the heights on the west side of the creek were interspersed with field fences, many of heavy stone, offering a splendid fortification for the enemy's sharpshooters behind them. Hay stacks, orchards and corn fields also abounded. On the heights of Elk Ridge, on the east side, some of the Union batteries reached the plateau, but not very effectively; this at an early hour of the day.

On the west side, occupied by the Confederates in defense of the bridge, was Toombs' brigade of D. R. Jones' division, with batteries so placed that they commanded the road and the bridge, and even as far distant as the hill upon which the National Cemetery now

stands. They had a strong cross fire on any advance made from the east side. The position of Toombs' brigade was certainly a splendid defensive line.

After the failure of the Eleventh Connecticut, another attempt to cross the bridge was made by the Second Maryland and the Sixth New Hampshire, of Nagle's brigade, but the fire of the Confederates was so terrific and concentrated upon the bridge that they also were driven back. Then came orders, so peremptorily despatched from Burnside that there could be no mistake about his intention to take

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THE CHARGE ACROSS THE BURNSIDE BRIDGE

the bridge. Sturgis on receipt of this order determined to make another special effort. For this purpose, he selected the Fifty-first New York, commanded by Colonel Robert B. Potter, and the Fifty-first Pennsylvania, commanded by Colonel John F. Hartranft of Ferrero's brigade. These two regiments, under cover of heavy artillery fire and skirmish fire of sharpshooters from the banks of the stream, by Crook's Kanawha men, started for the bridge at a double quick run, and with one enthusiastic roar of cheers, with bayonets fixed and crossing side by side, carried the bridge. Then spreading one

regiment to the right and one to the left, charged up the hill. This was about one o'clock P. M. Immediately upon the success of the two Union regiments in crossing the bridge Sturgis' division followed, forcing its way up the slopes and spreading to the right and to the left.

During this time Rodman's division was making a movement through the woods to Snavely's Ford, south westerly, and about one-third of a mile below the bridge. When they crossed at Snavely's Ford they were on the left of Burnside's line. Rodman's progress was slow on account of the heavy woods and steepness of the hills on his side of the stream. His movement was recognized by the enemy and they immediately opened artillery and musketry fire, but Rodman crossed the ford successfully and succeeded in reaching some of the first terraces and finally the crest, establishing the left of the corps line. The line as thus formed was Sturgis on the right, Rodman on the left, with Crook supporting Sturgis and Scammon's or Ewing's Kanawha brigade supporting Rodman.

Unfortunately the fight at the bridge and the attack from terrace to terrace had very largely exhausted the men of Sturgis' division. It was a stubborn contest, foot by foot up the slope toward the enemy — so it was deemed wise by General Cox, commanding the corps, to withdraw Sturgis for a short time at least and place Willcox's reserve division in action. Willcox moved promptly and relieved Sturgis' line — Sturgis becoming Willcox's reserve. At the time of this movement, the Confederates had D. R. Jones' division with six brigades (Toombs, Jenkins, Garnett, Kemper, Drayton and Walker) engaged in the battle. As the Union lines advanced the enemy kept up an incessant cannonade and firing during the whole movement. It was not until about three o'clock in the afternoon, although there had been fighting along the terraces by the different Union brigades, that the order to advance the whole line was given by General Burnside personally. The movement was directed upon the village of Sharpsburg proper. The troops moved forward in perfect order, most enthusiastically. Up over each ledge and terrace, upward and onward, they pushed to the crest of the hill overlooking Sharpsburg, smashing the enemy's column in various places and driving them backward into the village. In the movement, Willcox and Rodman separated, leaving an interval between the right and left flanks. Scammon saw the importance of immediately filling the gap and marched forward under severe fire with his Kanawha brigade. The enemy's artillery was admirably served and he had from his position

a disturbing and destructive cross fire. At different portions of the line Jones was reinforced and made a heavy, serious fight. General Jones asserts in his report that Kemper's and Drayton's brigades were driven through the town.

Finally, when success seemingly was about to crown the Union efforts there was a sudden crash upon the Union left, both of artillery and musketry, denoting reinforcements on the Confederate side. It struck Harland's brigade of Rodman's division which was on the extreme left flank and proved to be Gen. A. P. Hill's Confederate division (six brigades, Branch, Gregg, Field, Pender, Archer and Thomas) which had marched from Harper's Ferry in the morning, crossing the Potomac by Blackford's Ford, and striking the Union lines at an angle and partially in the rear. The advance of Hill's troops as Confederates was not recognized at once by Harland's men on account of the fact that while Hill's men were at Harper's Ferry, large bodies of them had taken new blue uniforms from the stores captured by Jackson; and some authorities say that they carried the Union colors. But the projection of Hill upon Harland's brigade, of Rodman's division, was disastrous to the Union line. The Union men endeavored to change front, and Scammon's brigade did so with alacrity. Harland made a brave fight, and Rodman in his endeavor to realign his troops was mortally wounded. Scammon then took command of the division.

The Confederates then attacked along the whole line in connection with Hill's division and the fighting was fierce. The Union lines had reached as far front as was possible and finally Sturgis, who was in reserve, was ordered up. All the troops of Burnside were now engaged. The fighting was magnificent as far as the whole line could be considered. But the giving way of Rodman's troops under the mass attack of Hill gave an opportunity for the enemy's batteries to throw shot and shell on the whole Union line in enfilading or flank fire. Without the success of the left the right wing could not accomplish its purpose to reach and stay in the village and there were no reinforcements that could be sent to their assistance. As stated the whole corps was engaged, so General Cox, after looking carefully over the situation, determined to withdraw his force to the lower ledges of the curved hill. The troops went back coolly, with precision and in perfect order.

The final position in the evening was: Sturgis in front on the left, with Fairchild's brigade of Rodman's division in support; the Kanawha division with Scammon in the center, with Willcox established

on the right. The enemy kept up their fire on the Union troops until dark with artillery and skirmish fire of musketry.

The Union batteries made effective reply. It may be said to their credit they did magnificent service all through the action; but the soldiers of the corps, after the severe fighting of the day, were exhausted. They had had the strain of the hard campaign at the second Manassas; had marched to South Mountain, making the severe fight at Fox's Gap, and then the hard labor of climbing and fighting

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BURNSIDE'S ATTACK UPON SHARPSBURG

on the hills near Sharpsburg. It taxed the men to the uttermost limit of nature.

Sturgis' division consisted of General James Nagle's brigade, composed of the Second Maryland, the Sixth New Hampshire, the Ninth New Hampshire and the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania. Brigadier General Edward Ferrero's brigade consisted of the Twenty-first Massachusetts, the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts, the Fifty-first New York, Colonel Robert B. Potter and the Fifty-first Pennsylvania. The artillery was composed of the Pennsylvania Light Battery "D" and Fourth United States Battery "E".

Rodman's division consisted of Colonel Harrison S. Fairchild's brigade, composed of the Ninth New York, Lieutenant Colonel Edgar A. Kimball, Eighty-ninth New York, Major Edward Jardine, and One Hundred and Third New York, Major Benjamin Ringgold. In the movement of Fairchild's brigade, of Rodman's division, the Ninth New York, under Colonel Kimball, advanced with such rapidity and intrepidity upon the enemy's lines that they captured McIntosh's Confederate battery. In the retreat to the rear they were compelled to abandon the guns which were retaken by the Confederates. Colonel Harland's brigade consisted of the Eighth Connecticut, the Eleventh Connecticut, the Sixteenth Connecticut and the Fourth Rhode Island. The artillery command was the Fifth United States Battery "A". Scammon's Kanawha division composed of Ewing's brigade (Scammon's), and consisted of the Twelfth, Twenty-third, and Thirtieth Ohio, two companies of West Virginia cavalry and the First Battery, Ohio Light Artillery. Crook's brigade consisted of the Eleventh, Twenty-eighth, and Thirty-sixth Ohio, one company of Chicago Dragoons and Simmonds' Kentucky Light Artillery.

Wilcox's division consisted of Colonel Christ's brigade, Seventy-ninth New York (Highlanders), Lieutenant Colonel David Morrison, which was ordered out as skirmishers for the brigade and with this brigade, on the extreme right of Willcox's line, entered the eastern end of Sharpsburg almost to the National Cemetery; Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Twenty-eighth Massachusetts and Seventeenth Michigan. Colonel Welsh's brigade next on the left of Christ consisted of the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, Forty-sixth New York, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Gerhardt and Eighth Michigan. The artillery of the division was Massachusetts Light Eighth Battery and Second United States Battery "E" (Benjamin's famous battery). Unattached: Eight companies of the Sixth New York Cavalry, Colonel Thomas C. Devin; Ohio company of Independent Cavalry; Third United States Artillery Batteries "L" and "M"; Second Regiment, New York Light Artillery Battery "L", Captain Jacob Roemer.

On the afternoon of the seventeenth, General Pleasanton with his cavalry moved across the Boonsboro and Sharpsburg bridge, together with several companies from Sykes' division of regulars in support of the cavalry, and reinforced by U. S. batteries of artillery. General Pleasanton reached the crest of the hill where the National Cemetery is now situated and which it is said was also the temporary head-

quarters of General Lee of the Confederate forces. Not receiving any reinforcements, General Pleasanton, in the evening, withdrew to the east side of the bridge.

While this movement of General Pleasanton was going on two brigades of Morell's division of the Fifth corps were ordered to the relief of Franklin, on the right center. While in movement they were stopped by orders of General McClellan. This was about four P. M. General Porter had stated he only had 4,000 men for any use especially as he was the only reserve. General Porter's Fifth corps which had been held as a reserve on the east side of Antietam Creek, near General McClellan's headquarters, did not participate in the main action as a body. It was composed of two small divisions, Morell's and Sykes'. Morell's division contained three brigades; Sykes' also three, two of which were composed of regulars.

Morell's division was constituted as follows: Barnes' brigade, Second Maine, Eighteenth Massachusetts, Twenty-second Massachusetts, First Michigan, One Hundred and Eighteenth Pennsylvania, Twenty-fifth New York, Colonel Charles A. Johnson, Thirteenth New York, Colonel Elisha G. Marshall, and Second Company of Massachusetts Sharpshooters. Griffin's brigade, Second District of Columbia, Ninth Massachusetts, Thirty-second Massachusetts, Fourth Michigan, Sixty-second Pennsylvania and Fourteenth New York, Colonel James McQuade. Stockton's brigade, Twentieth Maine, Sixteenth Michigan, Eighty-third Pennsylvaia, Company of Michigan Sharpshooters, Twelfth New York, Captain William Huson, Seventeenth New York, Lieutenant Colonel Nelson B. Bartram, Forty-fourth New York, Major Freeman Connor. Artillery: Third Battery Massachusetts Light, Battery "C" Rhode Island Light, Battery "D," Fifth United States. Also a company of United States sharpshooters.

Sykes' division: Buchanan's brigade, Third United States, Fourth United States, two battalions Twelfth United States, two battalions Fourteenth United States; Lovell's brigade First and Sixth United States, Second and Tenth United States, Eleventh and Seventeenth United States. These two brigades were the regular army men. A volunteer brigade under Warren, composed of the Fifth New York (Duryea Zouaves), Captain Winslow and the Tenth New York (National Zouaves), Lieutenant Colonel John W. Marshall comprised the infantry of the division. Artillery: First United States Batteries "E" and "G", Fifth United States Battery "I", Fifth United States Battery "K".

Humphrey's division was a brand new one. It had been organized in Washington on September 12-13th, under extreme conditions but did not start immediately. It reached Antietam on the 18th. Except one regiment, the Ninety-first Pennsylvania, the two brigades were composed of new men, just recruited in August, and consisted of Tyler's brigade, Ninety-first, One Hundred and Twenty-sixth, One Hundred and Twenty-ninth and One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Pennsylvania; Allabach's brigade, One Hundred and Twenty-third, One Hundred and Thirty-first, One Hundred and Thirty-third and One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Pennsylvania. Artillery: First New York Light Battery "C", Captain Almont Barnes, First Ohio Light Battery "L".

The batteries of the Fifth corps did excellent service throughout the whole action; and with the artillery reserve kept free the wide expanses from Richardson's left on "Bloody Lane" to the Sharpsburg and Boonsborough Road. The Artillery Reserve consisted of four batteries of the First Battalion of New York Light Battery "A". Lieutenant Bernhard Wever, Battery "B" Lieutenant Alfred Von Kleiser, Battery "C" Captain Robert Langner and Battery "D", Captain Charles Kusserow, New York Light Fifth Battery Captain Elijah D. Taft, First United States Battery "K", Fourth United States Battery "G". Major Arndt, New York, commanded this battalion and was mortally wounded in action.

Couch's division of the Fourth corps arrived on the field on the morning of the 18th from Pleasant Valley, where it had been held in position to prevent any irruption of the Confederates upon the Union left wing. On its arrival it was placed along the front of the Second corps, remaining there until the 19th. The division was constituted as follows: Devens' brigade, Seventh Massachusetts, Tenth Massachusetts, Thirty-sixth New York, Colonel William H. Browne, Second Rhode Island; Howes' brigade, Sixty-second New York, Colonel David J. Nevin, and the Ninety-third, Ninety-eighth, One Hundred and Second, and One Hundred and Thirty-ninth Pennsylvania. Cochrane's brigade, Sixty-fifth New York, Colonel Alexander Shaler, Sixty-seventh New York, Colonel Julius W. Adams, One Hundred and Twenty-second New York, Colonel Silas Titus, and the Twenty-third, Sixty-first, and Eighty-second Pennsylvania. Artillery: New York Light, Third Battery, Captain William Stuart, First Pennsylvania Light Batteries "C" and "D", Second United States Battery "G". The division performed its assigned duty at the front in an excellent manner, as noted in succeeding paragraph.

At General McClellan's headquarters, at the Pry house, the escort consisted of the Independent Company of Oneida (New York), cavalry, Captain Daniel P. Mann, Fourth United States cavalry, Companies "A" and "E", Regular Engineer Battalion, and parts of the volunteer Engineer brigade, Fifteenth New York, Colonel John McL. Murphy, Fiftieth New York, Lieutenant Colonel William H. Pettes, Provost Guard Second United States Cavalry, Companies "E", "F", "H", and "K", Eighth United States Infantry, Companies "A", "D", "F" and "G", and Companies "G" and "H", of the Nineteenth Infantry. Headquarters Guard, Sturges Illinois Rifles and Ninety-third New York, Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin C. Butler. Quartermaster's Guard, First United States Cavalry, Companies "B", "C", "H" and "I".

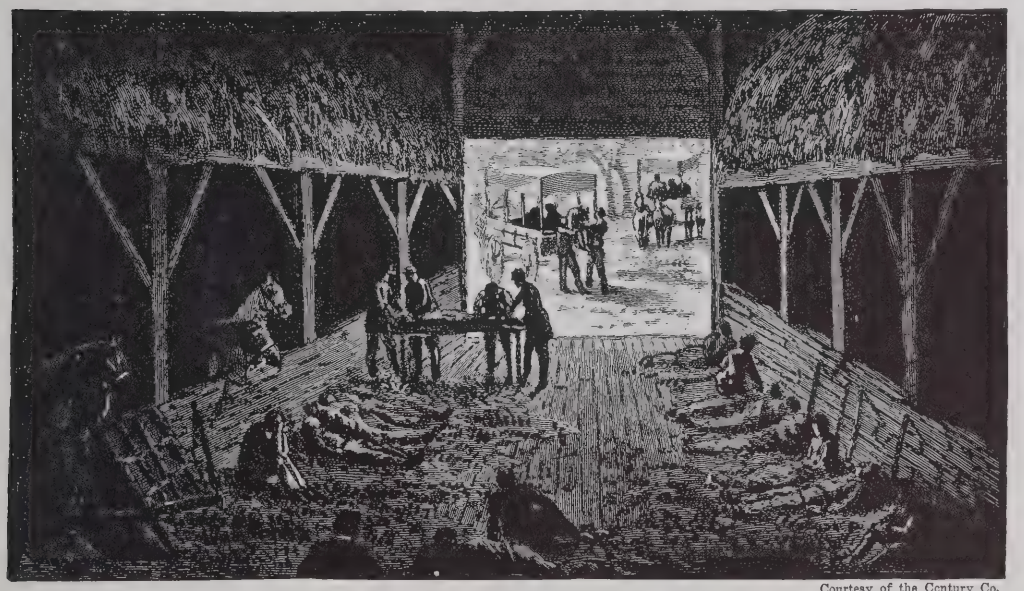
On the morning of the 18th, Morell's division consisting of the brigades of Colonel Barnes, General Griffin and Colonel Stockton, were sent to the relief of General Burnside, and, as far as regarded the number of the force, did very effective service by skirmishing to the front, Burnside's own troops also being constantly engaged.

As already stated, General Couch's division of the Fourth corps, which had arrived on the field on the 18th, was advanced to the front of the Second corps line and occupied that front until the 19th. Skirmishing took place along the line, especially during the early morning hours — frittering away in the evening. From time to time, during the afternoon, both Confederate and Union troops threw out flags of truce and secured such wounded of their own troops as they could find upon the field, also in a large number of cases burying their dead.

With this last skirmish fire of the 18th, all the firing of the battle of Antietam was over. Neither army made any further attempt at aggression. General McClellan has stated he intended to renew the battle on the 19th, but on the morning of the 19th it was discovered that the Confederates had vacated all their positions on the night before.

General McClellan immediately upon this discovery ordered forward Pleasanton's cavalry in pursuit and advanced the Fifth corps in support. But Lee had already crossed the Potomac River, having used the bridge and ford at Shepherdstown, and placed his regiments and batteries in position to hold the right bank and the ford. The Fifth corps skirmishers, supported by Morell's and Sykes' divisions, soon became sharply engaged with the Confederates by firing across the river, both with artillery and musketry. With this strong preliminary attack, Griffin's and Barnes' brigades of Morell's division

crossed the river in the face of severe firing and fought up the steep banks, but they were driven back. On the 20th, Sykes' and Morell's divisions again attacked but were again driven back. They took to cover on the left bank, in the dry bed of the canal. One regiment, the One Hundred and Eighteenth Pennsylvania, of Barnes' brigade, suffered very severely in this engagement. They had received their armament only a short time before. It proved to be a spurious lot of defective Enfield rifles, palmed off on the Government as being perfect. The men were unable to fire their pieces and were in a sad dilemma. Their loss in killed and wounded was very heavy.



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UNION HOSPITAL IN A BARN NEAR ANTIETAM CREEK

Curious to relate, although the attention of the General-in-Chief (Halleck) had been called to the defectiveness of this armament, previous to their entering active service, no effort was ever made to replace these rifles. The Confederates who opposed General Porter's corps and Pleasanton's cavalry, were the men of General Jackson.

While these movements were taking place along the Shepherdstown front, the various corps that had participated in the battle were moving to different camping grounds in the immediate vicinity. The Second and Twelfth corps were sent to Harper's Ferry and immediately took possession of Maryland Heights, Loudoun Heights and Bolivar Heights.

This practically concluded the battle of Antietam. During the encampment of the various brigades, divisions and corps, every effort was made to supply them with all the necessities for another forward movement, and to make the army serviceable and prepared for future engagements.

While the troops were in these encampments, on the 1st of October, President Lincoln visited the headquarters of General McClellan and was very happily received by the Headquarters staff, and was conducted by General McClellan over the battlefields of South Mountain and Antietam. General McClellan gave the President full explanations of the movements of the Union and Confederate forces on both battlefields. The President before returning to Washington also inspected and reviewed many of the divisions encamped near the battle field as well as those at Harper's Ferry.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

At the opening of the Civil War, and for nearly the first year thereafter, there was no special discussion of slavery in connection with the war, except among the so-called "Abolitionists " or extremists of the Northern States. But as it became evident to the general people of the United States that the South meant a fight to a finish, a sentiment began to grow that it would be good war policy on the part of the Union authorities to make it a war against slavery also. In many instances Union Generals had taken upon themselves the authority to emancipate such slaves as escaped to the Union lines, notably General Benjamin F. Butler. His decision was based upon the fact that the slaves were property; chattels, purchasable goods, and consequently like any other personal holdings of southern owners, were liable to confiscation. He defined the slaves as " Contraband of War," and, for a long period, slaves were termed " Contrabands " — a sort of nickname.

President Lincoln held aloof from supporting or upholding these acts of the Union Generals. He wished above all things to conciliate the South, to win back the " erring sisters " as they were termed in kindness. He wanted to save the Union of the States, whether with or without slavery. Anything to save the Union — that was the main objective. Although the President refused to ratify the acts of the Generals, yet it became evident to him that some action must be taken to recognize the serious situation of thousands of slaves, all appealing for freedom, who had come into the Union camps. So, on March 3, 1862, he issued a proclamation forbidding the return of such slaves

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GENERAL McCLELLAN AND PRESIDENT LINCOLN AT ANTIETAM

as had escaped into the Union Army lines. This was the opening wedge for the broad scope of wholesale emancipation — of an objective; beside the saving of the Union it meant the freeing of millions of slaves.

During the Summer of 1862, Lincoln commenced to draft the famous document which was to define one of the main issues of the war. He mentioned his idea only incidentally to his Cabinet, and but little attention was paid to the subject by them. The time was not propitious for such an undertaking. The Union Armies were meeting with disasters, East and West, and, seemingly, it was more necessary to secure additional troops to fight the rebels than to devise a new political proposition.

But the victory at Antietam changed the aspect of affairs. It gave the President an excellent opportunity to give vent to his real feelings against slavery and to let the South know that now the war meant a death grapple.

A few days after the battle of Antietam, namely September Twenty-second, the Cabinet was called together. Among those present were William H. Seward, Edwin M. Stanton, Salmon P. Chase and Gideon Welles all calm and considerate men, looking seriously at the affairs of life, and, just then, at the problems of the Nation. Singularly unseemly must it have seemed to these distinguished men when the President having a volume of Artemus Ward stories in his hand, commenced to read aloud the following excerpt:

"What under the Sun are you about?" cried I.

Sez he: "What did you bring this pussylanermus cuss here for?" and he hit the wax figger another tremendjus blow on the hed.

Sez I: "You egrejus ass, that air's a wax figger — that's a representashun of the false 'Postle."

Sez he: "That's all very well for you to say, but I tell you, old man, that Judas Iscarrot can't show hisself in Utiky with impunerty by a darn site," with which observation he kicked in Judass's hed. I sood him, and the Jury brawt in a verdick of Arson in the 3d degree."

The Cabinet members were astonished. Here was a special meeting evidently called for a special purpose, some serious purpose, and instead of discussion or statement, Abraham Lincoln was reading out aloud, for their laughter or smiles, a story from Artemus Ward, the humorist. The President enjoyed the story immensely, laughed, while the Cabinet sat with serious faces. Stanton thought it a piece of buffoonery. The times were too serious for jokes. Business was to be accomplished.

Lincoln paid no attention to the serious faces — perhaps some evidencing disgust — but drawled out again — "Let's have another"— and then he read a second story from the Ward volume. The Cabinet was on tenter-hooks when he said: "Gentlemen why don't you laugh?" Then continuing he said: "With the fearful strain that is upon me, night and day, if I did not laugh I should die, and you need this medicine as much as I do." The President's tall, old fashioned stove pipe hat stood upon the table, near his elbow. He turned wearily toward it, and took from it a paper — a series of papers as he unfolded them, making the Cabinet look up. Then he said: "Since I read to you several weeks ago an order I had prepared on the subject of emancipation, my mind has been much occupied with it. I said nothing to any one, but I made a promise to myself and (hesitating a little) to my Maker. I have gotten you together to hear what is written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for I have determined that for myself. This I say without intending disrespect for any one of you. If there is anything in the expressions I use, or in any minor matter which any of you think had better be changed, I shall be glad to receive the suggestion."

He continued by saying that many others might do better than he could, and if he was fully satisfied that the public confidence was more fully possessed by any one of them than by himself, and he knew of any constitutional way in which such an individual could be put in his (Lincoln's) place, he could have it. "But," said he continuing, "I am here, I must do the best I can and bear the responsibility of taking the course I ought to take."

Then in modulated, forceful tones, sentence by sentence, he read the document he had taken from his hat. It was the Emancipation Proclamation!

The main propositions of the Proclamation were in the statements that the War should be prosecuted for the purpose of "restoring the constitutional relations between the United States and each of the States and the people thereof." It proposed continuance of a plan for compensating States that would voluntarily free their slaves. It promised a continuance of efforts at colonization of freed negroes. It announced that "after January 2, 1863, all persons held as slaves in any State, any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

The imperturbable, but still given to passion, Secretary of War, Stanton, sprang to his feet, and, grasping President Lincoln's hand,

ejaculated: "Mr. President, if the reading of chapters of Artemus Ward is a precedent to such a deed as this, the book should be filed among the archives of the Nation and the author should be canonized. Henceforth I see the right, and the Country is saved." And apparently all the Cabinet joined in the remarks of Stanton.

President Lincoln believed that the Proclamation, carried out as he had provided, would help the armies in the fight to save the Union. It was evidently a purely military measure. In its civil aspects it gained the approbation of the "Abolitionists" who had been wavering in their support of the Administration. It undoubtedly had a strong effect among thousands of other Northern people. In another sense, it gave a staggering blow to the foreign Diplomats who were ready to recognize the Southern Confederacy. The Emancipation Proclamation gave notice to the world that slavery in the United States was to be abolished. It would have been fatal to any foreign government, among its own people, to have recognized a Confederacy that was practically a slave power and favored the continuance of Negro bondage and servitude.

When by January 1, 1863, it became evident that no Southern State in rebellion intended to free its slaves, Stanton, the great Union War Secretary, began to formulate the plans of the war measure feature of the Emancipation Proclamation by the enlistment of Negroes for the Union Army. He did this upon purely military grounds. The Southern States were using the Negroes of their sections of the country for every available purpose relating to military necessities — building forts, army entrenchments, helpers and laborers in powder, cannon and musket manufactories, and in all avocations that would be of value to their military armies.

The escaped slaves were jubilant, and during 1863 full fifty thousand had joined the Union Army. They were formed into regiments, under white officers, the latter selected after a thorough and exacting examination, and well drilled. There were protests from many people of the North, but Stanton paid little attention to them. In the South it created a feeling of more deadly enmity, leading the Southern Government to threaten that every white officer of a Negro regiment who might be captured as a prisoner should be executed as a felon; while Negro soldiers were liable to "no quarter." This as a measure of retaliation for what they called: "The infamous Lincoln Crime."

This threat was met immediately by the Union Administration by a notice of prompt reprisals — that a life for a life would be exacted

from Southern prisoners taken. It had a cooling effect. The extreme threats were nullified. There probably were exceptional instances of outrages on negroes and white officers, but no broad executions. While officers and Negro prisoners were closely confined and suffered indignities, as related by them, still the prospect of retaliation by the North finally effaced the dividing line between the captured forces of either side.

Before the termination of the war, it is estimated that fully two hundred thousand Negroes were enlisted and organized into regiments. And to their credit and honor be it said they did admirable and efficient service for the Union, fighting heroically on many battle fronts.

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UNION BURIAL PARTY AT ANTIETAM

Casualties and Comparisons

"Comparisons are odious" sometimes odorous, according to an old saying. In connection with the forces engaged in the battle of Antietam on both sides, in the reading of the reports of the battle carefully, in estimating from the positions occupied by the contending forces, it would not seem as though there was such a disparity of numbers as is sometimes shown by writers on the battle in regard to troops there engaged.

For the purpose of an intelligent comparison in regard to the number of Confederate and Union forces stripped for the battle lines, and who were fiercely engaged in the conflict, it might be well to

refer to General James Longstreet's figures in an article written for the Century Magazine along in the 80's. After having made a careful review of all the circumstances surrounding this engagement, he says, referring to the conditions of the Confederate army, that with the losses of Jackson and his own corps, in Pope's campaign, some 9,354, that the army of Lee after the conflict of the Second Manassas (the Confederates then having numbered 55,000 men) was depleted to 45,646 men. To that number General Longstreet then adds the divisions of D. H. Hill 5,000, McLaws 4,000 and Walker 2,000, acquisitions received on the march. Thus Lee's army on entering Maryland was made up of nearly 57,000 men, September 5th and 6th, *exclusive* of artillery and cavalry. As the Confederates had but 37,000 at Sharpsburg, (according to Gen. Lee) the Confederate loss in conflict in Maryland including *stragglers,* reached 20,000! The italics are Longstreet's. The Confederate casualties in Maryland, according to Longstreet, were 13,964, and of this number 11,000 or 12,000 were at Sharpsburg or Antietam. General Longstreet in his article then concludes that from 8,000 to 9,000 Confederate soldiers fell by the wayside and berates the Virginians who have decried the stragglers as being laggards when they were really brave men, wearied and worn by toilsome marches.

Unfortunately as far as figures are concerned, General Longstreet must have erred badly in the lines where he states that the Confederate losses between the battle of the Second Manassas and the battle of Sharpsburg were 20,000, when according to his own computation in a later remark he speaks of from 8,000 to 10,000. He must mean that the casualties and stragglers numbered 20,000.

Let us analyze this record for a few moments.

Lee's forces after Manassas	45,000
Joined by Hill, McLaws and Walker	11,000
Add artillery and cavalry, estimated	4,000
Total	60,000
Deduct losses at South Mountain	2,000
This leaves an effective force of	58,000
Assume the stragglers to have numbered	8,000
This leaves at Antietam an available force of	50,000

Lee's figures of less than 40,000, or about 37,000 as engaged at Sharpsburg, are not borne out by Longstreet's computations. It

seems scarcely credible that 20,000 men fell out of the army of Lee between the battle of the Second Manassas and Sharpsburg, marching over fair roads on both sides of the Potomac — an unbeaten, triumphant army with the spirit of victory and cohesive.

On the other hand, McClellan's forces were parts of two defeated armies whose marches and movements were equally as arduous as those of the Confederates (excluding Harper's Ferry). And heavy straggling was no exception in the Union forces. Thousands dropped out of the ranks; and under such circumstances of debility, exhaustion, and even despair, desertions were plentiful. This eliminated thousands of the on paper soldiers of McClellan's reported big army. With thousands of stragglers and deserters, with detachments left at various points for guard duty, regiments of engineers counted that never left Washington city, and placing aside Porter's Fifth corps with Humphrey's new division on the march, and Couch's division of the Fourth corps as noncombatants in this action, skirmishing only on the 18th, after the battle, and the large figures of McClellan, of 87,000, dwindle very greatly. And of this 87,000, there were 30,000 new recruits, never before in action, as computed by General Ezra Carman (Colonel commanding the Thirteenth New Jersey Volunteers in this action) and for many years a United States Commissioner of this field, and who made a searching examination of every portion of the battle lines and forces engaged. To General Carman the people are indebted for the tablets now indicating positions on the field.

As an illustration of the deviation of figures. The first corps is reported on paper to have had 14,000 men in action. General Meade reports that on the night of the 17th of September, on Poffenberger's Ridge, he had 7,500 men, and had lost 2,500, having really had in this corps only about 10,000 men; a reduction of 4,000 from those of McClellan's general report. The Twelfth corps numbered not over 8,000 instead of 10,000 — a loss of 2,000; and so along the whole line of Union army corps. It is doubtful, in the author's mind, whether McClellan had over 60,000 available men for action on this field. Given this number, it was not an undue proportion for attack against an army of 37,000 to 40,000 men (Lee's figures) in strong defensive positions on every portion of the field. And on Longstreet's figures, as recited above, was an extremely hazardous proportion for the Union army or attacking force.

Colonel William F. Fox, author of Fox's Casualties of the Civil War, after a careful examination of the figures of the Antietam battle, (Colonel Fox was personally present in the engagement in the 107th

New York) states that, in his opinion, not more than 48,000 Union men were in the attacks against the Confederate forces. Subtracting all the reserves and mixed forces not engaged (Porter's corps, Couch's division and other organizations) at 12,000 out of the 60,000 above named and 48,000 effectives would be the result.

Napoleon says: "When attacking a regiment in position, send in a brigade." And again: "A battle is one of positions." With the Confederates in excellent positions, to insure success for McClellan meant that the Union army should attack with superior numbers. Neither General Lee, Longstreet nor Jackson would have disputed these axioms of Napoleon. With their West Point education, with their military methods on the various battle fields in which they had

Courtesy of the Century Co.

CONFEDERATE BATTERY AT THE DUNKER CHURCH—AFTER THE BATTLE

participated, they always tried to and did despatch a larger number of their own men against their adversaries when such adversaries had a given point or position to defend.

Throughout the recitals of the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, in the major portion of this work, every Union army corps, division, brigade and regiment that was engaged has been fully noted in its proper place, consequently giving full publicity to the exact status of the Union army troops. In the case of the Confederates, having shorter lines, with quick movements and changes from one position to another, it has been somewhat difficult to place them all in their respective positions on the line of battle.

But for the purpose of showing no very large discrepancy existed

as between the Union and Confederate armies in the action, the following summary of the Confederate troops is taken from the official records.

Longstreet's corps consisted of Major General Lafayette McLaws' division of Kershaw's, Semmes', Cobb's, and Barksdale's brigades. Artillery: Manley's, Reed's, Macon's, Carlton's and McCarthy's batteries.

Major General Richard H. Anderson's division consisted of Wilcox's brigade commanded by Cumming, Mahone's brigade commanded by Pelham, Featherstone's, Armistead's, Pryor's and Wright's brigades. Artillery: Maurin's, Huger's, Moorman's, and Grimes' batteries.

Brigadier General David R. Jones' division consisted of Toombs', Drayton's, Pickett's, (Hunton and Garnett commanding), Kemper's, Colonel Joseph Walker's and Colonel George T. Anderson's brigades. Artillery: Stribling's, Rogers', Leakes' and Brown's batteries.

Brigadier General John G. Walker's division, composed of Walker's brigade (commanded by Manning and Hall) and Ransom's brigade. Artillery: French's and Branch's batteries.

Brigadier General John B. Hood's division: Hood's Texas brigade (Colonel Wofford) and E. B. Laws' brigade. Artillery: Bachman's, Garden's and Reiley's batteries.

Evans' Independent brigade, commanded by Stevens. Evans later on commanded a Provisional division in the battle.

Longstreet's corps artillery consisted of the Washington battery, First, Second, Third and Fourth companies, Squires', Richardson's, Miller's, Eshleman's, Jordan's, Elliott's, Moody's, Eubank's and Parker's batteries under command of Colonel S. D. Lee as a battalion.

Major General Thomas J. Jackson's (Stonewall) corps, consisted of Ewell's division, commanded by Lawton and Early; Lawton's brigade under Colonel Douglas, Major Lowe and Colonel Lamar; Early's brigade under Colonel Smith, Trimble's brigade under Colonel James A. Walker and Hay's brigade. Artillery: Johnson's and D'Aquin's batteries.

Major General A. P. Hill's division consisted of Branch's brigade commanded by Lane, Gregg's, Archer's, commanded by Turney, Field's commanded by Brockenborough, Pender's commanded by Brewer and Thomas' brigades. Artillery: Braxton's, Crenshaw's, McIntosh's and Pegram's batteries. These were the only batteries of this division engaged at Sharpsburg.

Jackson's old division, under command of Brigadier General John

R. Jones, who was wounded, succeeded by Brigadier General W. E. Starke, who was killed, and finally commanded by Colonel Grigsby, was composed of Winder's brigade, commanded successively by Grigsby, Gardner, and Williams. Taliaferro's brigade under Warren, Colonel J. W. Jackson and Sheffield as successive commanders, Jones' brigade under Colonel Johnson, Captain Penn, Captain Page, and Captain Withers, Starke's brigade under Stafford and Pendleton. Artillery consisted of Carpenter's, Brockenborough's, Wooding's, Caskie's, Raines' and Poague's batteries.

Major General Daniel H. Hill's division consisted of Ripley's brigade, under Doles after Ripley was wounded, Rodes' brigade and Garland's brigade, McRae commanding, (General Garland having been killed at South Mountain), G. B. Anderson's brigade under Colonel Bennett, (Anderson having been killed in this battle) and Colquit's brigade. Artillery: Hardaway's, Bondurant's, W. B. Jones' and Carter's batteries. Cutt's and Jones' battalions of artillery acted with Hill's division.

The Reserve artillery consisted of Brown's battalion, Daners', Watson's, Smith's, Hupp's and Cokes' batteries. Cutts' battalion consisted of Blackshear's, Lane's, Lloyds', Patterson's, and Ross's batteries. Major H. P. Jones' battalion consisted of Page's, Peyton's, Turner's and Winbish's batteries. Nelson's battalion consisted of Kirkpatrick's, Ancell's, Huckstep's, Johnson's and Milledge's batteries. Miscellaneous artillery consisted of Cutteshaw's, Chapman's, Page's and Rice's batteries.

Major General J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry consisted of General Wade Hampton's, General Fitzhugh Lee's and Robertson's brigades (the latter under Colonel Munford). Artillery: Chew's, Hart's, and Pelham's batteries.

These comprise, approximately, all the brigades and divisions that were directly in action at Sharpsburg, as it is called by the Confederates, or Antietam as it was designated by the Union army.

The artillery report of General William A. Pendleton, which is quite methodically and carefully drawn, gives a full summary of the calibre and nature of the various artillery guns employed at Antietam by the Confederates.

In Longstreet's corps: 45 rifles, 13 Napoleons, 54 smooth bore, or a total of 112.

In Jackson's corps: 52 rifles, 18 Napoleons, 53 short range or smooth bore, or a total of 123.

In Stuart's cavalry: 2 rifles, 2 twelve pound howitzers, or a total of 4.

Reserve artillery: 15 rifles, 1 Napoleon, 20 smooth bore, or a total of 36, making the grand total 275, as nearly as can be estimated.

Longstreet had five divisions, Evans' brigade and a Provisional division. Jackson had four divisions. It made about forty-one brigades in the Confederate army, not counting the artillery battalions. In addition to these was Stuart's cavalry division — three brigades, dismounted, acting as infantry.

The Confederates had about 180 Infantry regiments and battalions. Add 15 cavalry regiments, dismounted, and there were about 195 separate organizations, not including artillery.

The Union forces were divided up into about 208 Infantry regiments and battalions. Subtracting from this number the two divisions of Morell and Sykes of the Fifth corps, not actively engaged, and the Union regiments participating in this action, numbered about 176. Pleasanton's cavalry and the artillery are not included. By brigades the Union army had 40 of infantry and Pleasanton's cavalry of 5 brigades, the latter very small in numbers.

The habit of exaggeration of figures in regard to the numbers of troops making up the various corps, divisions and brigades as indulged in by both sides seems scarcely credible — McClellan of his own army, based upon reports presented to him by his subordinates, was especially unfortunate in regard to his figures of the corps by over estimates; and then what he conceived to be the strength of Lee's army also by over estimates.

For the purpose of showing the actual official figures, from the war records, the army of McClellan consisted of —

First corps, three divisions	14,856
Second corps, three divisions	18,813
Fifth corps, Humphrey not arrived, yet counted	12,930
Sixth corps, two divisions	12,300
Ninth corps, three divisions	13,819
Twelfth corps, two divisions	10,126
Cavalry	4,320
Artillery not computed	
Total	87,164

On the other hand, in giving the estimate of Lee's army, he distinguishes the different corps and their strength as follows:

Jackson	24,778
Longstreet	23,342
D. H. Hill, two divisions	15,525
Stuart's cavalry	6,400
Ransom and Jackson	3,000
Forty-six regiments not included in the above	18,400
Artillery	6,000
Total	97,445

Longstreet in his official report of the action, in a bombastic way, says they defeated 100,000 Union troops. Evidently the commanders on both sides were misinformed in regard to both effective strength as well as misguided by untrue reports. So far as losses in action were concerned, one thing must be retained in the minds of all readers of Confederate losses. The Confederates never recognized slightly wounded men, such as were temporarily disabled by slight wounds; for example, of such a character as did not prevent them from reporting for duty within 24 hours or even one week; while on the other hand, in the Union army, no matter how slight the wound, and even if a man remained on duty, he was noted in the list of those wounded in battle. Consequently there is no opportunity for a real study of the killed and wounded, as well as missing, in the Confederate columns, particularly on a field on which they lost ground.

Returning to the immediate field of battle as fought on September 17th, it is proposed to give the numbers of regiments engaged in each portion of the field. Substantially, as indicated by official reports, Jackson's Confederate left wing contained at the opening of the engagement to its close, in the East and West Woods, Lawton's division, 23 regiments, Jones 21 regiments, Hood 9 regiments, McLaws 16 regiments, Walker 9 regiments and nearly all of D. H. Hill's division at the East Woods in the early morning, 24 regiments or a total of 92 infantry regiments not including Stuart's cavalry dismounted, and acting as infantry, or the artillery batteries. Opposed to Jackson on this front, the right wing of the Union army, were Hooker's First corps, 38 regiments; Mansfield's Twelfth corps, 25 regiments; Sumner's Second corps, (Sedgwick's division), 15 regiments, and Franklin's Sixth corps, 27 regiments, making a total of 105 infantry regiments, artillery and cavalry not included. In the center of the Confederate front at " Bloody Lane," which was covered by the division of D. H. Hill, reinforced by the division of R. H.

Anderson, there were 23 regiments of Hill's division and 26 in Anderson's division, making a total of 49 infantry regiments, artillery not included. Against this center were engaged two divisions of Sumner's corps, French's and Richardson's, numbering 23 infantry regiments, artillery not included. On the right of the Confederate line fronting the Union left, Burnside, were the Confederate divisions of D. R. Jones 26 regiments, reinforced by the division of A. P. Hill consisting of 27 regiments, a total of 53 regiments; while on the Union left, the Ninth corps which opposed these 53 regiments was composed of 27 infantry regiments, not including the artillery. This is a fair statement taken from the official records of the War Department of the number of infantry regiments (the whole fight was practically infantry), of the troops engaged on the line from north to south. It is undoubtedly true that the regiments and battalions of the Confederates were small, sometimes, perhaps, large enough to be entitled to heavy figures, but the same thing also occurred in the Union army regiments. The regiments were small — the battalions even smaller. In the Confederate accounts of the battle, and for the purpose of showing the reasons for their defeat, in particular portions of the line, they invariably speak of the very small numbers engaged against a larger or superior Union force. As said before, while the Confederate regiments were undoubtedly small, the Union regiments were equally small in various portions of the field. As examples, merely occurring on the right front of the Union army which attacked Jackson early in the morning of the 17th, it is a matter of official record that Colonel Walter Phelps' brigade of Doubleday's division, which was in the middle front, first line of battle, at the Corn Field, had but four New York Regiments and a battalion of United States sharpshooters and numbered only 450 men. In the Twelfth corps the author's own brigade, Stainrook's, there were three regiments only on the battle line that day — not more than 600 were in action. In Greene's division of the Twelfth corps, were about 2,500 men, and in his charge in the West Woods and at Dunker Church he had but 1,700 comprising about 8 regiments; his remaining 800 men, the third brigade of Greene's division, having been sent to the assistance of the First corps. In the First division of this corps were five new regiments with an aggregate of 600 per regiment, while the old regiments were decimated to probably from 100 to 150 each. All together, in this division, the new and the old regiments may have been 5,000 men making a corps of only about 7,500 effectives. The First corps regiments were very small along its whole line. As far as all records show

the Union regiments, all along the line of Jackson's front, were very small. All the Confederate reports give very large over estimates of the Union forces engaged against them, sometimes degenerating almost into Bombastes furioso style, as was the report of General Robert Toombs, of Jones' division, who claimed in his excited way that if he had been permitted with his two or three regiments to do what he desired to do, he would have driven the whole of the Ninth Corps, on the evening of the 17th, into the Antietam! This was the same Robert Toombs who in the early secession days, in one of his remarkable speeches in the South, stated that he proposed to march with a small brigade from South to North and read the roll of his slaves at the Bunker Hill monument near Boston. These Confederate officers, despite their bombastic propositions and high flown statements were really brave men and fought heroically for the cause they had espoused.

General Lafayette McLaws, of Longstreet's corps, is one of the Confederate officers who made careful figures of the number of his men taken into action and of their losses, even going to the extent of crediting percentages of loss. At Antietam McLaws states he had 264 officers and 2,272 men. General McLaws divides up his brigades and losses as follows:

	Effectives		Losses		Per
	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	Cent
Kershaw's Brigade	112	829	44	305	
Semmes' Brigade	63	646	27	281	39.5
Barksdale's Brigade	89	802	32	258	
Cobb's Brigade	?	357	11	135	
	264	2634	114	979	

Cobb had previously lost 700 at Crampton's Pass, South Mountain.

General D. R. Jones says he lost (on the right of the Confederate line) 1,435. General J. B. Hood in the East and West Woods, two brigades, reports a loss of 1,002. General Thomas J. Jackson (Stonewall) reports that his losses at Harper's Ferry, Antietam and Shepherdstown totalled 2,438 killed, wounded and missing. His dead he recites at 313 of noncommissioned officers and privates. If this be all that General Jackson computes as his loss, to whom did the holocaust of butternut and grey clad dead in the " Bloody Lane," the Cornfield, the Hagerstown Road, the West and East Woods and at the Dunker Church belong?

General D. H. Hill states that he had but 3,000 men on the Confederate center on the 17th. This is quite likely. At South Mountain, on the 14th, he is assumed to have had full 5,000 or more. He computes his losses in both battles as 464 killed, 1,852 wounded and 925 missing, or a total of 3,241. It is difficult to solve the problem of how many men D. H. Hill really had. Admitting that his figures for Antietam are nearly correct, with the addition of General R. H. Anderson's division of 4,000, with additions from Walker's division, not mentioning artillery, gives Hill a force of 7,000 in contention with French and Richardson's divisions of the Second corps at the "Bloody Lane," both Union divisions containing approximately, not over 8,000 effectives.

Dr. Guild, Medical Director of the Confederate Army, makes a report of somewhat over 10,000 killed and wounded in his official report, covering the engagements at South Mountain, Antietam and Shepherdstown. But the Medical Director's report covers only 30 brigades out of 45, leaving 15 brigades to be answered for.

No credible official returns of the killed, wounded and missing of Confederate army in the three engagements named was ever made. General Lee undoubtedly did the best he could with the figures presented to him by his subordinate commanders. Under all the circumstances, in the fierce conflicts that took place, it is reasonable to assume that the Confederates lost as heavily as the Union forces, especially at Antietam.

General McClellan reports that 2,700 Confederate dead were buried on the Antietam field and that the Union dead, buried on the field, numbered 2,108.

The Union army reports are very complete, and give as the losses at Turner's Gap, 1,813; Crampton's Pass, 533, and Boonsboro 19, or a total of 2,365 for South Mountain battles killed, wounded and missing. The Union loss at Antietam was 12,410; at Shepherdstown 363, or a total of 12,773. Add to this a loss of 65 from Washington to South Mountain, and the sum total of the Union army losses in the campaign covers 15,203 casualties of all kinds, including the most minor wounds.

Addenda— Halleck

In the early part of this history of the campaign in Maryland, remarks were written by the author in reference to Major General Henry Wager Halleck as General in Chief of the armies of the U. S. A., who was located at Washington, D. C., and the directions and orders given by him to General McClellan in the course of his

eight days' campaign. In speaking of General Halleck, in the paragraphs named, there has been no personal ill will or prejudice of any personal character, but it is founded entirely upon the calibre of the man as displayed during his jurisdiction of the armies in active service.

It may be stated here that General Halleck succeeded General Fremont at St. Louis, and secured control of all the armies operating along the Mississippi River and its tributaries, and consequently had control of the operations of General U. S. Grant in his movements down the Tennessee River, toward Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. Grant had captured both of these fortifications and quite a large army had surrendered to the Union forces. Following this had come the battle of Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh, which was also considered a Union victory and fought out by Grant. This battle of Shiloh occurred on April 6 and 7, 1862. After the victory of Grant, Halleck came down to the camp and assumed command of Grant's forces, and then called for large additions from various other sections, creating an army of nearly 100,000 men; the largest body of Union men, thoroughly equipped, then in the Southern States, and ready for effective action. Halleck came into camp and assumed command with a prejudice evidently against General Grant. He commenced to reorganize this large army into right and left wings, center and reserve corps, placing different generals in command and leaving General Grant with the army in what Halleck termed "second in command", but practically without any authority of any kind or description, never consulting with Grant — simply leaving him in the position of a camp follower.

When Halleck had made all his preparation to move against the Confederate forces, then under command of General Beauregard, he made the town of Corinth, distant, thirty miles from Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing, his main objective point.

The Union Army started out from its camps by the end of April and moved forward in bulk in almost the formation of a broad procession, parade front. Very short marches were made daily, and every camp at night was regularly fortified along the whole line. In the process of the Union forward movement, only the Confederate cavalry appeared from time to time in contest, and sometimes a few Confederate infantry skirmishers. In this forward movement, on the 19th of May, a couple of brigades of Sherman's division had a small engagement on the right of the line. On the left of the Union line, General Pope was assumed to have had a slight engagement. Finally, May 29th, a full month after starting, while the Union army

was fortifying its then position, very near Corinth, explosions in that town were heard and the tooting of trains leaving that section on the railroad, giving evidence of something taking place, and it was discovered that General Beauregard had withdrawn his forces without battle, simply losing such material as he could not very well take away. Then General Halleck took possession of the town — a conqueror. This after thirty days of marching a distance of thirty miles!

General Sherman, in his memoirs, states, in concise language, that the army of 100,000 men then under command of General Halleck was the most compact body of Union men then on the continent; and that under the direction of a competent officer (although he speaks highly of General Halleck's ability), that this army could have gone anywhere in the South, could have marched to Mobile or Memphis and overcome all opposition without much difficulty. At this point comes in a queer episode, not generally known or much referred to, in the fact that General Grant, feeling the indignities and insults that had been heaped upon him by General Halleck, asked for a leave of absence for thirty days to go home. It was granted immediately by General Halleck, and Grant made his preparations to depart from the camp for home. Grant was undoubtedly deeply affected by the actions of General Halleck and desired to get away from his control. Fortunately for future history, General Sherman, a close friend of General Grant, heard of his intended departure from the army. He found him in his tent, disheartened and weary, all packed up and ready to go. He appealed to Grant not to take advantage of his leave of absence. Grant replied by stating the miseries he had suffered under the command of Halleck, how he had been severely ignored and made simply a camp follower with few privileges, and that while Halleck was in command he would be further insulted. Sherman begged and appealed to him to remember a few facts in his own case. He said "You remember that only a short time ago, I was called a mad man and a lunatic. I was almost placed under arrest, liable to be cashiered or dismissed from the army, for having stated that I thought it would require 500,000 men to subdue the South; and yet in spite of all this volley directed against me, I remained in the service and here I am today, commanding a division with, I hope, brighter prospects ahead. This army of Halleck's from present indications is likely to be disintegrated and divided into smaller parts." Continuing he said to Grant: "If you leave and go home to the North, when this reorganization of the armies takes place, you will probably be forgotten and left out in the cold. If you stay the authorities

at Washington cannot help but recognize your past excellent service and give you a proper command". Grant took the advice of Sherman under consideration, and finally, after careful thinking, dropped the leave of absence and notified Sherman that he did not intend to go. In Sherman's Memoirs of his life is found a letter under date of June 6, congratulating Grant upon his decision not to leave. Precisely as Sherman had suggested in his talk with Grant, when Halleck was called to Washington to assume supreme command of all the armies, Grant was given a command. Whether Halleck opposed this was not and never has been established, but undoubtedly the influence of Governor Yates, of Illinois, and that of Congressman Washburn, a strong congressman in Washington, secured Grant's appointment to a command in spite of anything Halleck may have desired to be done. It saved Grant to the army and made him the leading figure in the great Civil War, and made him one of the military heroes of all time.

The distinct difference between Grant and Halleck is shown in later history, when something of the same character as to the "second in command" occurred after the battle of Gettysburg, with Meade commanding the Army of the Potomac and Grant made Lieutenant General of all the armies, superseding General Halleck. The difference of conduct was very forcibly displayed. Grant did not relegate Meade to a place in the rear nor render him a supernumerary, but left him in command of the army over which he had presided, and directed and simply dictated orders for necessary movements, leaving the entire execution of them to Meade; thus placing Meade in a position where his splendid military knowledge could be of essential service. What a difference between Halleck in connection with Grant after Shiloh, and Grant with Meade as his right hand.

As a matter of further reference to the feeling in the army in regard to General Halleck, it is apposite to make brief reference to Col. Don Piatt's "Life of General George H. Thomas". On page 152 of that work he says: "Henry Wager Halleck was a beau ideal of a West Pointer, of portly presence and soldierly bearing. He had a solemn, dignified manner which impressed his associates with a belief in the sound intellectual force which gained him the title of "Old Brains". In the army he honestly believed that war was an art that could be taught by books and had produced a volume entitled "Halleck's Art of War", and was surprised to find, however, when he took the field, that his learned effort was about as useful as would have been a treatise on infant baptism."

* * * Speaking of the army that had been organized under Halleck, Piatt says: "These main forces moved on in accordance with Halleck's "Art of War", and with a prudent caution that discounted chance. Every distinct advance in parallels was marked by heavy fortifications that precluded any attack with the remotest opportunity of success on the part of the enemy. If McClellan's army at Washington was an anaconda, Halleck's was an alligator. It weakened the morale of the army. Instead of relying on their muskets, they found themselves wielding picks and shovels, the enemy simply playing like lightning along the front and flanks in continuous skirmishes."

When Corinth had been taken after evacuation by the enemy, it was of no practical value whatever in a military sense. Piatt further says: "Had this immense and compact army been moved to any point of the slightest importance, it probably would have arrived at its destination some years after the war had ended." It may be said here that Don Piatt was an Adjutant General, connected with the staffs of some of the most prominent generals of the war, from its commencement to its end, and a man of fine intellectual force. He relates that the tremendous cost of the movement of this army with no results, had a depressing influence on the army.

When he got through with Corinth, Halleck did not know what to do with his army. It was subsequently subdivided, as heretofore related. Two years later, Sherman gathered up part of this Halleck army, and with additions from the Army of the Potomac, made his famous march to the sea.

Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan was a very fair judge of warfare in all of its qualifications and views, and is not a bad critic as to the merits of officers during the rebellion. Many years after the war he wrote his personal memoirs, having in the meantime had an excellent opportunity for reflection in regard to what he considered the elements that constitute a commander. General Sheridan, in the early part of 1862, was a Captain acting as Quartermaster in the purchase of horses for the use of the army and was sent from place to place in the line of this duty. He finally determined this work was not congenial, as he desired to get to the front where there was a likelihood of fighting; and after some slight difficulty, he secured permission to report to General Halleck then in the immediate neighborhood of Pittsburg Landing, where he acted as Quartermaster and finally Commissary of Subsistence at headquarters. He fitted up the headquarters of General Halleck and supplied him with the various necessities for living. To use his own fervid language, he sized up the situation of the current campaign about as follows:

"General Beauregard's holding of Corinth, and his retreat southward, was accomplished in the face of a largely superior force of Union troops, and he reached the point where he intended to halt for reorganization without other loss than he sustained in the destruction of the cars and supplies at Boonesville and the capture of some stragglers and deserters that fell into our hands while we were pressing his rear from General Pope's flank. The number of these was quite large, and indicated that the enemy was considerably demoralized. Under such circumstances, an energetic and skillfully directed pursuit might not have made certain the enemy's destruction, but it would largely have aided in disintegrating his forces, and I never could quite understand why it was not ordered. The desultory affairs between rear and advance guards seemed as a general thing to have no particular purpose in view beyond finding out where the enemy was, and when he was found, since no supporting columns were at hand, and no one in supreme control was present to give directions, our skirmishing was of little avail and brought but small reward."

Sheridan in fact states what the real trouble was, and wonders why some competent commander did not assume control and really do something; and as far as any further comment was made was the discovery that Halleck was never at the front on the firing line.

On pages 368, 370 and 371 of the Official Records of the War, relating to the Battle of Antietam, Series One, Vol. XIX, occurs a singular series of letters addressed by General Andrew A. Humphreys to Secretary of War Stanton. General Humphreys, a graduate of West Point, Class of 1827, had been, up to 1862, more than thirty years in the service of his country and was considered one of the ablest officers in the army. He did command, in the course of his experience in the war, brigades, divisions and corps in the Army of the Potomac, and was always highly commended as a brave, intelligent officer, deeply respected by every commander under whom he served. General Meade, commanding the Army of the Potomac in the field, during the last campaign of the war made him his chief of staff and relied greatly upon his counsel. This is stated for the purpose of showing the genuine ability of General Humphreys as well as to frame up properly the miserable insults offered him.

The stated facts as presented by General Humphreys in his letters to Secretary Stanton, and written with a considerable degree of feeling, long months after, show how flagrant was the blow. He states to the War Department, under date of March 28, 1863, that he desires to have a Court of Inquiry called to present his grievances and pass

upon the question of his capacity. In this relation he says he was in Washington on Friday September 12th, and was sent for by General Halleck, at about noon, and asked if he was ready to take command of a division in the field, the division to consist of new troops just about to pass through Washington that day. General Humphreys responded by stating that he gladly accepted the proposition and that he would be ready to march within an hour. The division was to be attached to General Porter's Fifth corps. The division was to pass through Washington at three o'clock that afternoon, according to General Halleck's statement, to come over from Virginia by way of the Long Bridge. According to General Halleck, staff officers and brigade commanders were to report to General Humphreys; and that as soon as he had met the staff appointed to the command, he was to march over the road to Rockville, Maryland, and wait further orders. The division was to number about 7,000 men — two brigades — and, with the exception of one veteran regiment, was composed of new recruits just arrived from Pennsylvania. Humphreys was ordered to provide rations and ammunition rounds. He was enjoined to keep his men fresh on the march and in the best of order, without any further suggestions or orders as to the route of march; and was not told the position of the army, or of any impending battle. In fact he was in utter ignorance of everything except that he was to take command of these new men. He had no staff officers of his own, so he secured Lieutenant C. McClellan, of the 32d New York regiment, and with his own son, Captain H. H. Humphreys, composed a temporary staff. He had made an application to Halleck for staff officers who understood their duties but could get no action. At 3 P. M. on the above date, General Humphreys was ready to meet and move his first brigade, but there was no brigade in sight or in the neighborhood. At about 7 P. M., the head of the first brigade arrived at the Long Bridge, and General Humphreys conveyed them to Columbia College grounds, where he arrived with his men about midnight. The second brigade, which had gotten mixed up on the Virginia side of the Potomac, finally got into camp sometime between midnight and morning, the last regiment reaching the bivouac about daybreak. Neither brigade had provisions, and two regiments were without arms. About 900 of the muskets held by the men were without nipples, or the hammers broken and many more were broken every hour. (It will be noted that the 118th Pennsylvania, which suffered so severely at Shepherdstown, was one of the regiments with these defective muskets, though they fought as

well as they could with their inefficient weapons); there were no wagons, no munitions or supplies — a most woeful state of affairs. General Humphreys started in to remedy this as far as possible. He secured as many new arms as the Arsenal was ready to give him during the day of the 13th. He made himself efficient in providing food, munitions and forage, in fact, did every thing possible for the purpose of placing his troops in a state of efficiency under very adverse circumstances. He wrote to General Cullom, Chief of Staff for General Halleck, and advised him of every movement and the difficulties of the situation. Everything seemed to be satisfactory to headquarters as far as General Humphreys knew. Instead of commendation General Humphreys received a notice from General Halleck that if he did not move his division at once, this at 4 P. M., he would be placed under arrest, showing the petulant character of Halleck, attacking an officer of merit such as General Humphreys was. General McClellan and General Porter on the field of Antietam both approved the excellent methods of General Humphreys in bringing the new division through and his services were highly appreciated.

As a matter of fact, General Humphreys marched at daylight on the morning of the 14th, reached Frederick Tuesday, the 16th, marched again on Wednesday, the 17th, and reached the battlefield at Antietam on the morning of the 18th. This, with new troops, was considered a most commendable march. The facts as related above speak for themselves. No officer in any of the armies of the United States, east or west, but was liable to the same unjust attacks.

The opinions of President Lincoln, Gen. Grant, Secretary Welles and Gen. McClellan follow. They speak for themselves. To Halleck is chargeable the surrender of Harper's Ferry, with its 12,000 Union troops, on Sept. 14th. He opposed their withdrawal by every means in his power. As a strategical position, it was of no consequence whatever. Gen. Lee, the Confederate commander of the forces bound for Gettysburg in June, 1863, passed by Harper's Ferry, with a garrison of 10,000 Union men under Gen. Wm. H. French, and proceeded on his way up the Cumberland Valley in utter disregard of the Union force there entombed. Halleck refused to grant Hooker's request for the use of this Union garrison, and Halleck's refusal led to Hooker's resignation and the substitution of Gen. Meade to command the Army of the Potomac, advancing to Gettysburg.

From "Blue and Gray" — J. Warren Gilbert — 1863, one year

after: "Commenting on the condition of the War Office at the time (Gettysburg) President Lincoln said: 'Our folks Halleck and Stanton, appear to know very little how things are and show no evidence that they ever will avail themselves of any advantage.'"

"General U. S. Grant said of Halleck: 'The Commander in Chief must be a fighter as well as a strategist and that his authority is exercised better anywhere else than from the seat of political authority.'"

"Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln, does not far miss the truth when he said: 'I have seen nothing to admire in the military management of General Halleck. At a time when activity should pervade military operations he has no activity, never exhibits sagacity or foresight, sits back in his chair, scowls and swears about the stupidity and worthlessness of others. This seems his way to escape censure himself and cover his stupidity in high position.'"

"General McClellan said of Halleck: 'Of all men I have ever encountered, I do not think he had a correct military idea from beginning to end. It was more difficult to get an idea through his head than can be conceived by any one who never made the attempt.'"

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